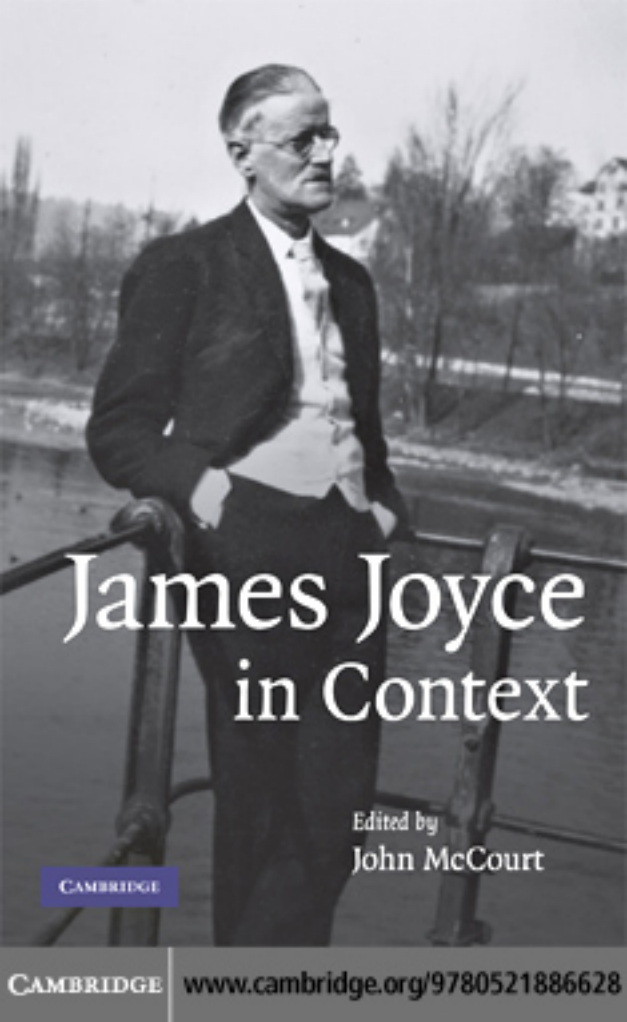


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James Joyce in Context

Edited by
John McCourt

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JAMES JOYCE IN CONTEXT

This collection of original, cohesive and concise essays charts the vital contextual backgrounds to Joyce's life and writing. The volume begins with a chronology of Joyce's publishing history, an analysis of his various biographies and a study of his many published and unpublished letters. It goes on to examine how his works were received in the main twentieth-century critical and theoretical schools. Most importantly, it places Joyce within multiple Irish, British and European contexts, providing a lively sense of the varied and changing world in which he lived, which formed him and from which he wrote. The essays collectively show how Joyce was rooted in his times, how he is both a product and a critic of his multiple contexts and how important he remains to the world of literature, criticism and culture today.

John McCourt is Lecturer at the Università Roma. He is the author of many studies of Joyce, most notably *The Years of Bloom: James Joyce in Trieste, 1904–1920* (2000).

JAMES JOYCE IN CONTEXT

EDITED BY
JOHN McCOURT



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521886628

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First published in print format 2009

ISBN-13 978-0-511-48099-7 eBook (NetLibrary)

ISBN-13 978-0-521-88662-8 hardback

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Contents

<i>Notes on contributors</i>	<i>page</i> ix
<i>Preface</i>	xv
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xix
 PART I LIFE AND WORKS	 I
1 Composition and publishing history of the major works: an overview <i>Stacey Herbert</i>	 3
2 Biography <i>Finn Fordham</i>	17
3 Letters <i>William S. Brockman</i>	27
 PART II THEORY AND CRITICAL RECEPTION	 39
4 Genre, place and value: Joyce's reception, 1904–1941 <i>John Nash</i>	41
5 Post-war Joyce <i>Joseph Brooker</i>	52
6 Structuralism, deconstruction, post-structuralism <i>Sam Slote</i>	65
7 Gender and sexuality <i>Marian Eide</i>	76
8 Psychoanalysis <i>Luke Thurston</i>	88

9	Post-colonialism <i>Gregory Castle</i>	99
10	Genetic Joyce criticism <i>Dirk Van Hulle</i>	112
11	Translation <i>Jolanta Wawrzycka</i>	125
12	Joyce and world literature <i>Eric Bulson</i>	137
13	Twenty-first-century critical contexts <i>Sean Latham</i>	148
PART III HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS		161
14	Being in Joyce's world <i>Cheryl Temple Herr</i>	163
15	Dublin <i>L. M. Cullen</i>	173
16	Nineteenth-century lyric nationalism <i>Matthew Campbell</i>	184
17	The Irish Revival <i>Clare Hutton</i>	195
18	The English literary tradition <i>Patrick Parrinder</i>	205
19	Paris <i>Jean-Michel Rabaté</i>	216
20	Trieste <i>John McCourt</i>	228
21	Greek and Roman themes <i>Brian Arkins</i>	239
22	Medicine <i>Vike Martina Plock</i>	250
23	Modernisms <i>Michael Levenson</i>	262

24	Music <i>Timothy Martin</i>	275
25	Irish and European politics: nationalism, socialism, empire <i>Brian G. Caragher</i>	285
26	Newspapers and popular culture <i>R. Brandon Kershner</i>	299
27	Language and languages <i>Tim Conley</i>	309
28	Philosophy <i>Fran O'Rourke</i>	320
29	Religion <i>Geert Lernout</i>	332
30	Science <i>Mark S. Morrisson</i>	343
31	Cinema <i>Maria DiBattista</i>	355
32	Sex <i>Christine Froula</i>	366
	<i>Further reading</i>	378
	<i>Index</i>	399

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Preface

For many decades the 'classic' reading of Joyce cast him as the exemplary denationalised high modernist, the 'great writer' and revolutionary inventor who soared loftily above his many contexts, picking and choosing where he needed without ever fully engaging. Seen in this way, Joyce's art was conceived by a man largely indifferent to his surroundings and changing times. Many early critics privileged this version of Joyce (following his own promptings as well as those of Ezra Pound, T.S. Eliot, Valéry Larbaud and, to a lesser extent, Stanislaus Joyce). Joyce's first biographer, Herbert Gorman, writing very much under Joyce's editorial control, played down the author's Irishness in order to favour of an image of him as an internationalist, who, like 'Flaubert and Dostoevsky and Proust ... belonged to the international world of letters where national boundaries mean nothing at all'.¹ This casting of Joyce at a remove from the changing Irish and European worlds in which he lived persisted and was cemented by the academy in the years following his death up to, at least, the 1970s and came at the partial expense of a thorough exploration of a vast variety of the contexts within which he was writing. They included, to name but a few, almost at random, the Ireland that formed him, the Ireland that formed itself in his absence, the Austro-Hungarian Italian city of Trieste, France and the French avant-garde, as well as the plays, operas and films that he attended, the newspapers, pamphlets and books that he read or leafed through.

In more recent years a vast body of excellent material has emerged on these and many other contextual areas offering a valuable contribution to our changing vision of Joyce's life and works and allowing us to see him as both the product of and an interested participant in a whole variety of worlds which provide the contexts and co-texts of his fictional output. The cost is perhaps that he seems to us today a little less original and God-like, a little more accidental in his actions and choices, a more human author, happy to lift and to cut-and-paste carefully sifted material from a huge

variety of sources before making it indelibly his own, a writer who was very much of the world.

One could fill dozens of pages with book and article titles dealing with each of the major contexts of Joyce's writings but ultimately the effect would be bewildering. While making no claims for exhaustivity, this volume gathers a series of original, cohesive and concise studies covering various significant contextual areas. Reviewing existing work in each of their fields of interest, these essays provide a series of overviews as well as closer case analyses of various Joycean contextual fields and often suggest directions for future research.

Today, one hundred years after Joyce was writing, it is important to reconstruct his principal contextual information – such as other fiction, politics, religion, ideology, popular culture, cinema, the visual arts, music. It is important to know, for example, what volumes he was using to study Aquinas when he was a young man, what the political situation in Ireland was when he left and how it changed when he was away in voluntary exile, what avant-garde movements he was aware of during his life on the continent. The contexts that need to be illustrated today are perhaps very different from those that needed explaining fifty years ago or will need explaining one hundred years from now. One thinks, for example, of the daily practices of Irish Catholicism, bread and butter to Joyce's contemporary Irish readers but a world apart from readers in today's post-Vatican Two and perhaps even post-Catholic world. Things that would have been old hat to a 'common reader' of Joyce even fifty years ago, such as Thomas Moore's *Irish Melodies*, today form part of a distant past, largely beyond recall, but one vitally important for an understanding of Joyce's use of Moore, and indeed of music, in his fiction.

James Joyce in Context sets out to frame Joyce, then, within his multiple contexts, fortified by his own belief that imagination was not so much invention as memory. Its content has been organised in a manner that will render it a vital companion for readers of Joyce's work and it will complement *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce* edited by Derek Attridge, which has a more textual focus. The volume, which runs to thirty-two essays could easily have been double this size. Most of the contexts treated here have been the subject of several volumes of commentary. A careful process of selection was necessary to identify not only the more obviously vital contexts but also to attempt to make other less prominent ones emerge, such as medicine, science or nineteenth-century Irish lyric nationalism. For reasons of space various other contextual areas that are vitally important such as Judaism or the role of Zurich get but partial treatment in other essays.

Part I begins with a brief overview of Joyce's complex publishing history and continues with a study of the various versions of Joyce's life available today to the critic and reader. An examination of the vast opus of Joyce letters – far too many of them unpublished – follows and brings this 'life' section of the volume to a conclusion.

Part II, entitled 'Theory and critical reception', looks at how Joyce's works were received through the filter of a series of critical paradigms that run the gamut of the most important twentieth-century theoretical schools. Thus, the reader will come to possess a renewed sense of how Joyce's works have been read over time and continue to be read today, of the critical schools that continue to shape our readings and interpretations, and of how Joyce has influenced these various critical schools, seeming so often to prefigure, generate and indeed anticipate the broad strokes of their approaches.

Part III, entitled 'Historical and cultural contexts' places Joyce within multiple Irish, British and European contexts and provides a lively sense of the varied and changing world in which he lived, which formed him and from which he wrote. These essays perform a useful task in helping the reader to discover and understand the various contexts from which Joyce drew and assembled the elements that he then transformed in his fiction. They collectively show how Joyce was rooted in his times, how he is both a product and a critic of his multiple contexts and how important he remains to the developing context of literary, theoretical and cultural studies today.

I would like to thank each of the contributors for their generous co-operation and patience throughout the entire editing process and Ray Ryan of Cambridge University Press for his support, encouragement and timely advice during the various stages of this volume's preparation. I would also like to acknowledge the important role played by Maartje Scheltens, Linda Randall and Joanna Breeze, also of Cambridge University Press, and Averill Buchanan during the final editing process. Sincere thanks to Matthew Stout for the map of Dublin that so well illustrates L. M. Cullen's article.

JOHN McCOURT

NOTE

1. Herbert Gorman, *James Joyce* (New York and Toronto: Farrar & Rinehart, 1939), p. 337.

Abbreviations

References to the publications listed below appear throughout this volume as abbreviations followed by page number, unless otherwise specified. Editions other than those cited below are indicated in the chapters' endnotes.

- CH I, II Robert Deming, ed., *James Joyce: The Critical Heritage*, 2 vols. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970).
- CW Ellsworth Mason and Richard Ellmann, eds., *The Critical Writings of James Joyce* (New York: Viking Press, 1959).
- D Terence Brown, ed., *Dubliners* (London: Penguin, 1992).
- DD Stanislaus Joyce, *The Complete Dublin Diary*, ed. George H. Healey (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1962).
- FW John Bishop, ed., *Finnegans Wake* (London: Penguin, 1999). References appear as page number plus line number. All *Finnegans Wake* editions carry the same pagination.
- GJ Richard Ellmann, ed., *Giacomo Joyce* (London: Faber & Faber, 1968).
- JJ Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce: New and Revised Edition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).
- JJA Michael Groden, general ed., Hans Walter Gabler, David Hayman, A. Walton Litz and Danis Rose, eds., *The James Joyce Archive*, 63 vols. (New York: Garland, 1977–79).
- JJQ *James Joyce Quarterly* (University of Tulsa, 1963–).
- JML *Journal of Modern Literature* (University of Indiana).
- JSa *Joyce Studies Annual* (University of Texas, 1990–2003) (Fordham University, 2007–).
- L I, L II, L III Stuart Gilbert, ed., *Letters of James Joyce*, vol. I (New York: Viking Press, 1966); Richard Ellmann, ed., *Letters of James Joyce*, vols. II and III (New York: Viking Press, 1966).

- MBK* Stanislaus Joyce, *My Brother's Keeper*, ed. Richard Ellmann [1958] (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2003).
- OCPW* Kevin Barry, ed., *Occasional, Critical, and Political Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- P* Seamus Deane, ed., *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (London: Penguin, 2000).
- PE* J. C. C. Mays, ed., *Poems and Exiles* (London: Penguin, 1992).
- PJ* Forrest Read, ed., *Pound/Joyce: The Letters of Ezra Pound to James Joyce, with Pound's Essays on Joyce* (New York: New Directions, 1970).
- SH* Theodore Spencer, ed., rev. John J. Slocum and Herbert Cahoon, *Stephen Hero* (New York: New Directions, 1963).
- SL* Richard Ellmann, ed., *Selected Letters of James Joyce* (New York: Viking, 1975).
- U* James Joyce, *Ulysses: A Critical and Synoptic Edition*, ed. Hans Walter Gabler with Wolfhard Steppe and Claus Melchior (New York and London: Garland, 1984). References appear as episode number plus line number.
- WD* Robert Scholes and Richard Kain, eds., *The Workshop of Daedalus: James Joyce and the Raw Materials for 'A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man'* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965).

PART I

Life and works

CHAPTER I

Composition and publishing history of the major works: an overview

Stacey Herbert

James Joyce's publishing career spans nearly forty years, from an essay on Ibsen (1900) to *Finnegans Wake* (1939). Early on, and like many writers, Joyce established a pattern for the production of his works. He tended to share his manuscripts with colleagues, soliciting advice in placing them.¹ Aided by writers, artists and patrons, he published portions of new work in journals and magazines and, later, in small press editions before issuing a trade edition of a complete work. In fact, all his major and some minor works first appeared, in whole or part, in contemporary periodicals.

Serial publications encouraged Joyce to produce work regularly, paid some royalties and circulated his works alongside his contemporaries' and to a wide-ranging readership, inviting reviews which usually bolstered interest in an edition. Joyce was actively interested in how readers and critics received his works: he commissioned reviews from colleagues and followed mentions of his works in the press with diligence. He used these – positive and negative – in marketing his next work (and even threaded allusions or responses to some reviews into newer work). Unfortunately, success at one juncture sometimes led to failure at another: as serial publications caught the attention of the censors, they made publication of an edition difficult or impossible.

The works' composition and publishing histories were also shaped by editors, printers, publishers and other authorities and by Joyce's reaction to the influence they exercised. Like other writers before and since, he made use of limited editions in part to circumvent censorship. Over the years, he took an increasing interest in shaping the material form of his books, choosing type, layout and binding design as integral elements of the work. Independent of his own interest and involvement in these aspects of his works, Joyce's published excerpts and books provide a window on the world of traditional and avant-garde publishing in serial, trade and special editions, on both sides of the Atlantic in the early twentieth century.

1901–1906

In 1901, Joyce began to compose a suite of verses that eventually became *Chamber Music*. Four different sequences have survived in manuscript [Tulsa, Cornell, Yale].² He was ready to share his work, elaborately inscribed in minuscule on large sheets of stationery, with his new friend, Oliver Gogarty, in spring or summer of 1903, and with George Russell (AE) and W. B. Yeats, whom he had recently met. Yeats and Russell helped to shepherd three of his poems into print the following summer in London's *Saturday Review* and *Speaker*, and Dublin's *Dana*, beginning a pattern of collegial promotion and patronage Joyce would enjoy throughout his career. In mid-summer 1904, Russell approached him about producing short stories for the *Irish Homestead*. At the time, Joyce was busy composing 'Stephen Hero', envisioned as a work of sixty-three chapters featuring 'Stephen Daedalus'.³

Taking up Russell's offer, that summer he began drafting the short stories that would become *Dubliners*.⁴ Russell (editor of the journal, 1905–23) had asked for 'anything simple, rural?, livemaking?, pathos?, which could be inserted so as not to shock the readers' (L II 43) – instead he got something precisely crafted and markedly urban. 'The Sisters', the first in a suite of portraits of Dubliners, appeared on 13 August. Having already signed himself 'Stephen Daedalus' in letters to Gogarty and Constantine Curran, Joyce assumed the pseudonym publicly for the first time in the *Irish Homestead* or 'The pigs' paper', as Stephen derisively calls it in *Ulysses* (U 9.321), the journal of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society. Russell promised him a pound for each story and Joyce successfully placed two more with the magazine: 'Eveline' (10 September) and 'After the Race' (17 December). The last appeared two months after he and Nora had left Dublin for Zurich on their way to Trieste. Joyce laid aside 'Stephen Hero' in June 1905 and turned his full attention to the stories, rewriting them in Trieste as *Dubliners*. He began to contact publishers, offering William Heinemann in September 1905 'a collection of twelve short stories' which he described to Stanislaus as an arrangement of three stories each for childhood, adolescence, maturity and public life (L II 108–9, 111).

Joyce's long battle with censorious printers, publishers and various officials began in earnest over *Dubliners*. In October 1905, he sent the manuscript to London publisher Grant Richards, to whom he had already sent his *Chamber Music* manuscript in September 1904. Richards initially accepted the short stories in February 1906, but withdrew that September, returning the manuscript to Joyce on 26 October 1906.⁵ Richards' printers – themselves

liable for prosecution under British law for setting illicit or libellous material – objected, marking unacceptable passages (some of which Joyce altered) and a variety of words, most notably ‘bloody’. Joyce challenged the printers’ objections, arguing that his language was realistic and purposeful, telling Richards that ‘I seriously believe that you will retard the course of civilisation in Ireland by preventing the Irish people from having one good look at themselves in my nicely polished looking-glass’ (*L* 1 64). Though Joyce made many excisions and alterations, Richards proved ‘unduly timid’ and Joyce withdrew both this and the *Chamber Music* manuscripts, held up for two years (*L* 11 137). Two pages of proofs from that setting of ‘Two Gallants’ survive [Harvard].

1907–1913

As Joyce continued to emend the stories, he submitted *Dubliners* to several publishers, including Elkin Mathews of London. Mathews had specialised in books and journals of the decadent and symbolist movements, then, in the early 1900s, published numerous early modernist works, playing a decisive role in bringing Ezra Pound’s work to an English readership and to critical acclaim. Mathews refused *Dubliners* but accepted *Chamber Music*, publishing it in May 1907. He initially bound only a fraction of the 509 copies he printed and the edition did not sell well enough to pay Joyce royalties. Meanwhile, the prolonged delays in publishing *Dubliners* enabled Joyce to augment the volume, and he completed the fifteenth, capstone story, ‘The Dead’ on 20 September 1907 (*JJA* iv 504).

That autumn, Joyce returned to ‘Stephen Hero’ and radically re-conceived the work as ‘A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man’, finishing [chapter 1](#) (of five planned chapters) in November 1907. By the following spring, it had grown to three chapters, which Joyce shared with his Triestine language student and fellow writer, Ettore Schmitz (Italo Svevo) who offered constructive criticism. Composing in fits and starts – including an attempt (luckily frustrated) to destroy the manuscript in 1911 – Joyce persisted for the next several years.

Finally, in August 1909, he succeeded in placing the *Dubliners* manuscript with Maunsel and Company, Dublin. In 1910, the year they promised to deliver *Dubliners*, Maunsel published prominent Irish revivalists, including J. M. Synge and Lady Gregory. Over the next two years, Joyce contested the printer’s many requests to alter and remove offending words, passages and whole stories. Taking a conservative position on the threat of libel action, Maunsel insisted that Joyce expunge mention of the late King

Edward VII in 'Ivy Day in the Committee Room';⁶ Joyce hired solicitor George Lidwell to assess the actual threat of action, Lidwell tried to mollify the publisher's fears, but Maunsel, who had his own legal council, retrenched and called for even more excisions. This time, the firm focused its objections on the text's inclusion of living persons and existing establishments in Dublin. Maunsel continually delayed publication even when Joyce agreed to extensive revisions and deletions – something he would not do for later works. He returned to Dublin in July 1912 to force the issue but Maunsel's printer destroyed most of the printed sheets and the edition was doomed.⁷

Joyce left Dublin with a nearly complete set of proofs of the edition – a set Maunsel had used as working copy – that he then sent out to other potential publishers [private collection]. Two other, less comprehensive, sets survive [Yale and a private collection]. He reported these difficulties in an open letter to two Irish papers and took a poet's revenge by penning the broadside, *Gas from a Burner* (1912). One year later, with no resolution at hand, he enlisted Pound's help: Joyce's account of 'A Curious History' of the failed editions appeared in the second issue of *The Egoist* (15 January 1914). With it, Joyce and Pound primed potential readers for the serialisation of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* by publicising *Dubliners* and encouraging the public to sympathise with the author in spite of the potentially scandalous nature of his work.

1914–1918

Joyce finished composing *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* in early 1914 and the first instalment appeared in the next issue of *The Egoist*. That spring, Richards made good on his second contract, signed on 4 March 1914, and published *Dubliners* on 15 June 1914. The text of Richards' edition was set from Joyce's own set of proofs for the 1910 Maunsel edition. Joyce had kept them after *Dubliners'* publication and unsuccessfully attempted to sell them in the United States in 1927. Remarkably, these proofs – accompanied by the typescripts he supplied when Richards lost a portion of text for 'The Sisters' – were preserved in the estate of Stanislaus Joyce and were sold by Sotheby's in 2004, commanding £84,000.⁸

The first edition was typical of Richards' trade productions of the time: it was well printed (Richards preferred Edinburgh printers for reasons of quality and economy over London ones); unadorned but for the signature ivy-leaf device on the titlepage; and durably but simply bound and issued in

an economical dustjacket. Richards sold sheets from his first edition (as was common) to B. W. Huebsch for the first American edition (1916) and subsequent editions and printings were issued by the Modern Library in America and by Jonathan Cape in the UK. Robert Scholes, in 1967, and Hans Walter Gabler, in 1993, produced critical editions; both are now standard texts for English and American editions. Jeri Johnson's edition (Oxford, 2000) is based on the 1967 text.

A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man appeared in the pages of Harriet Shaw Weaver's *The Egoist* on the heels of the much belated *Dubliners*. *The Egoist*, founded in December 1913, had its origins in the feminist and overtly political *The New Freewoman*. With an editorial policy that followed a 'doctrine of philosophical individualism', the journal's content was shaped by Dora Marsden, Rebecca West, Ezra Pound, Richard Aldington, H. D. and T. S. Eliot, in turn. *A Portrait* ran serially in *The Egoist*, alongside Wyndham Lewis' *Tarr*, in twenty-five instalments from 2 February 1914 to 1 September 1915.⁹ With *A Portrait* well underway in print, Joyce focused his creative energy on his next work.

The first American edition of *A Portrait* was issued by B. W. Huebsch on 29 December 1916 and the first English edition, with sheets from the American, was published by the Egoist Press on 12 February 1917. Jonathan Cape took over English editions from the Egoist Press in 1924. Viking published a corrected text compiled by Chester Anderson in 1964 based on comparisons of the faircopy Joyce gave to Weaver [NLI], English and American texts published in Joyce's lifetime, and Joyce's corrections to them. In 1993, Garland issued Gabler's copy-text edition (of the same NLI manuscript). Johnson's Oxford edition (2000) is based on Anderson's 1964 text.

Though Joyce usually incorporated into current work elements of earlier writing, he composed and revised *Ulysses* in a concentrated manner from 1914 to 1922 with drafts of 'Proteus', 'Lotus Eaters' and 'Hades' reaching back to 1912–14.¹⁰ By 16 June 1915, Joyce announced to Stanislaus that he had written the first episode, 'Telemachus' (*SL* 209). At this stage, *Ulysses* had three parts, but purportedly twenty-two, not eighteen, episodes. Joyce reported to Weaver in October 1916 that Part 1, the 'Telemachiad' was finished (*L* II 387). However, the earliest surviving draft material for this section is for 'Proteus', composed in Zurich in the summer of 1917 [NLI]. That October–December in Locarno, he completed a draft of 'Proteus' [Buffalo] in a form fairly close to the *Little Review* text. By April 1917, Joyce could offer Pound only his 'Hamlet Chapter' ('Scylla and Charybdis') (*SL* 224–5) but by the end of August, confident enough of his progress, he

assured Pound he could consign *Ulysses* in 6,000 word instalments for simultaneous serialization in *The Egoist* and *Little Review* beginning on 1 January 1918 (SL 226–7).

1918–1920

By March 1918, the first three episodes of *Ulysses* were typed and ‘Telemachus’ appeared as ‘Ulysses 1’ in the *Little Review*. Margaret Anderson and Jane Heap, editors of this eclectic, avant-garde magazine, exercised a surprisingly inclusive editorial policy: alongside portions of *Ulysses*, they published works of feminism, imagism, symbolism and dadaism, often within the covers of a single issue.¹¹ Between 1918 and 1920, the *Little Review* serialized twenty-three instalments of *Ulysses* before action brought by the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice resulted in the trial and fining of its editors for publishing Joyce’s purportedly obscene work.¹²

Weaver aimed to serialise episodes of *Ulysses* in *The Egoist* simultaneously, for which her printer used issues of the *Little Review* as setting text [Tulsa].¹³ Weaver’s difficulties in securing printers for Joyce’s work were magnified by the *Little Review*’s censorship (a controversy whose lingering effects influenced the first English edition produced by the Bodley Head, 1936). Exemplary of the power of English printers to act as editors, *The Egoist* ultimately succeeded in publishing ‘Nestor’, the end of ‘Proteus’, ‘Hades’ and the beginning of ‘Wandering Rocks’ over five issues during 1919.¹⁴

Compelled by the magazines’ monthly deadlines, Joyce pushed forward production of his work. Closing the faircopy version of ‘Scylla and Charybdis’ [Rosenbach] with ‘New Year’s Eve, 1918 | End of First Part of Ulysses’ he marked a turning point in the conception and elaboration of his novel. Until the beginning of 1919, *Ulysses* seems to have only consisted of seventeen episodes. The manuscript record suggests that Joyce only added ‘Wandering Rocks’ (at least as we know it) in January 1919 [NLI], sending it to Pound that February (L II 436).

As he continued to circulate his manuscripts and typescripts, especially to Weaver and Pound for serial publication, they did not always meet with approval. ‘Sirens’ had taken Joyce five months to draft in two copybooks [NLI and Buffalo] but Weaver considered it ‘weak’ and Pound shared her opinion (SL 240–1). As Joyce was composing ‘Cyclops’ also in two copybooks [Buffalo and NLI] in June and July 1919, he begged Weaver to reconsider, and tried to explain his slow compositional process, saying, ‘The elements needed will fuse only after prolonged existence together’

(SL 240–1) – Joyce later used remarkably similar language to describe his composition of ‘Work in Progress’.

As ‘Cyclops’ was appearing in the *Little Review*, he wrote the earliest surviving draft of ‘Nausikaa’; it was typed in February 1920 and published in three issues of the *Little Review* from April to August 1920 (SL 245–6). The episode occasioned the obscenity trial against its editors. On 8 July 1920, Joyce and family moved to Paris; he claimed that he had written drafts of the last three episodes of the ‘Nostos’, Part III of *Ulysses*, prior to his arrival (SL 265–6). He worked on ‘Circe’ for an entire year, announcing its completion (though he continued to revise it) on 20 December 1920 (L III 34). That month he prepared the first version of his *Ulysses* ‘schema’ in Italian for his friend Carlo Linati [Buffalo]. Meanwhile, the *Little Review* published their final instalment of *Ulysses*, the first part of ‘Oxen of the Sun’ in the September–December 1920 issue before being ordered to suspend publication of the novel. The widely publicised censorship and seizure of the *Little Review* text and the ban on *Ulysses* in the USA effectively made a typical American and English trade edition too risky. As early as 25 August 1920, the last of the many English printers Weaver had approached declined to print an Egoist Press edition of *Ulysses*.

1921–1922

In January to mid-February 1921 Joyce recopied and emended an earlier draft of ‘Eumaeus’ (that Sotheby’s sold to a private collector in 2001) (SL 275–7; L III 38). Meanwhile, John Quinn was negotiating on Joyce’s behalf with Boni and Liveright and B. W. Huebsch, about an American edition of *Ulysses*: Boni and Liveright declined; Huebsch saw the publication as a lucrative opportunity if Joyce were willing to make certain editorial changes to the text but when Joyce refused, even Huebsch withdrew. By 6 April 1921, Joyce had received word that the potential American publishers had declined and he and Sylvia Beach began discussing arrangements to have the edition printed in Paris, under a Shakespeare and Company imprint. Though Beach had no publishing experience, she admired Joyce’s works and clearly saw potential in linking Shakespeare and Company’s future to his growing fame and reputation; Joyce was motivated by the lack of options and by promised royalties. He wrote to Weaver about this change of fortunes on 10 April and together they undertook plans almost immediately for an Egoist Press English edition to be produced from the plates of the Paris edition when it was exhausted (L I 161–3). Joyce was to receive 66 per cent of the net profit of the

Shakespeare and Company edition and an even higher 90 per cent royalty for Weaver's Egoist Press edition.

By mid-April, when Beach secured the printer, Maurice Darantieri of Dijon, Joyce had yet to finish the last two episodes of the book, 'Ithaca' and 'Penelope', though he said they had been sketched since 1916 (*L* III 31). Darantieri's printing house enjoyed a long reputation as a printer of high quality, limited editions as well as ordinary volumes for the trade. Darantieri's contract called for printing an edition in quarto crown (in the format of Adrienne Monnier's *Cahiers*) consisting of 1,000 copies divided into three stocks, as was typical. Beach and Joyce planned an October 1921 publication date, deciding to offer the edition by subscription – a common strategy (employed by the Bodley Head and William Heinemann, among others) when publishing controversial texts – and they hoped to acquire enough advance funds to cover the printing, to maximise royalties and to circumvent possible censorship.

In setting *Ulysses*, Darantieri's printers struggled with a number of difficulties from the very first typescript pages, set the first week of June 1921, through to the last corrected proofs, sent on 30 January 1922. Maurice Hirschwald, head printer for the project, regularly attempted to 'correct' Joyce's language, most noticeably by adding hyphens to portmanteau words. Joyce's great quantity of late-stage corrections and additions caused even more problems, delays and expense. Exemplary is the printer's typescript for 'Lestrygonians', which Joyce heavily revised in summer 1921 [Buffalo]. When Joyce completed the final episode on 24 September 1921, he had yet to finish the penultimate one (*L* III 49). On 29 October 1921, he finally announced that 'Ithaca' and the composition of *Ulysses* was complete (*L* III 51). Nonetheless, he continued to correct, revise and expand the text, returning the last proofs only on 30 January 1922 [Texas]. Darantieri's contract stipulated five sets of proofs. Joyce only managed to complete five episodes on five sets of proofs: the other ten episodes required six to eleven sets. In all, *Ulysses* grew approximately *one third longer* from additions Joyce made on the typescripts and proofs.

Ulysses was officially published on 2 February 1922 when Darantieri delivered two copies (Nos. 901 and 902) of the book to Beach, who in turn brought them to Joyce on this, his fortieth birthday. Shakespeare and Company issued seven printings of the first edition and four printings of the second between February 1922 and May 1930. Darantieri produced the second and third printings for Weaver's Egoist Press. The first edition was riddled with textual errors and correcting these (and subsequent ones introduced in later editions) has driven the publishing of *Ulysses* hand in hand with profitability and reader-demand ever since. The text of *Ulysses*

was corrected and altered – sometimes slightly, sometimes significantly – almost as often as its material form.¹⁵ Over the course of its eighty-five years as a book in print, publishers have marketed, and readers have read *Ulysses* as a banned book, a rare collectible, a classic, a pocket-book, an artist's book and as pulp fiction. What follows are only highlights from that long history.

In 1929, five years before an authorised American edition appeared, the New York publisher, Samuel Roth, issued an edition of *Ulysses* based on a copy of the 1927 Shakespeare and Company edition. Roth's pirated edition mimicked the original in format: it was (and is still) often mistaken for it. In 1932, the Odyssey Press, a specially created imprint of the Albatross Press, Hamburg, published an edition (in English) for the European market selling at 5.60 Marks, one quarter of the price of the Shakespeare and Company edition.¹⁶ The ban on *Ulysses* in America was finally overturned as the result of a highly publicised case initiated by Bennett Cerf of Random House and defence attorney Morris Ernst – the landmark edition was published on 24 January 1934.¹⁷ The Limited Editions Club, New York, owned by department store magnate, George Macy, produced a collector's edition illustrated by Henri Matisse in 1935. Encouraged by the success of the Random House edition, finally, on 3 October 1936 the first English edition printed in England – where *Ulysses* was never banned, but had been deemed unprintable and seized – was published by the Bodley Head. They first issued a limited edition of 1,000 copies (so as not to provoke the Public Prosecutor) and then produced the first of many trade editions. In 1984, Hans Walter Gabler, working from an editorial reconstruction of the work's compositional evolution from the Rosenbach manuscript, produced a new, critical edition. Following its publication, Joycean textual studies became embroiled in a period of heated debate about the text of *Ulysses* initiated by John Kidd's criticism of Gabler's editorial methodology and decisions. The practical result was a flurry of new printings of various texts of *Ulysses*. The Bodley Head, Vintage and Penguin published Gabler's reading text in 1986. Some publishers (including those also issuing the Gabler edition) re-issued earlier texts, most based on the Bodley Head 1960 or the Random House 1961 editions. Others, including Oxford (1993), capitalised on readers' growing confusion over textual variations, and issued re-printings of the 'uncorrected' first Shakespeare and Company edition.

1923–1926

Of course, Joyce himself immediately set about correcting the text of *Ulysses* and the seeds of his next work are rooted in a notebook (Buffalo VI.B.10) he

used to record corrections for the Egoist Press printings. He worked arduously at the text that would become *Finnegans Wake* for nearly eighteen years, from November 1922 to 4 May 1939, the date of its publication, and even beyond, to August 1940 when he made his final corrections to the text.¹⁸ Joyce, 'a scissors and paste man', eventually filled about fifty (known extant) notebooks with words and phrases, cribbed from a great variety of sources for use as building blocks of *Finnegans Wake* (L 1 297).

Beginning from his notes, in 1923 he developed a series of sketches on Irish historical and mythological themes, including 'Roderick O'Connor', 'St Kevin', 'Tristan and Isolde', 'St Mark', 'St Patrick', 'St Dymphna' and the 'Four Waves of Erin', or 'Mamalujo'.¹⁹ Elaboration of Tristan and Isolde and King Mark yielded another figure he eventually moulded into the grand patriarch, HCE, a.k.a. Humphrey Chimpden Earwicker and Here Comes Everybody, the foundation of 'Work in Progress'. Joyce composed *Finnegans Wake* in a non-sequential way, much as he had *Ulysses*. For example, just as the 'Wandering Rocks' episode was added late, so was 1.6, 'the questionnaire'. He described these vignettes as 'active elements' that would 'fuse themselves' when they were more numerous and mature (L 1 204). This suggests one reason why, unlike *Ulysses*, Joyce could actually *publish* his evolving text non-sequentially, as a work in progress.

As Joyce was elaborating 'Here Comes Everybody' (the core of Book 1.2–4), generating additional 'jigsaw puzzle sketches' (L 1 206), Pound plied him in October 1923 for material to include in Ford Madox Ford's new but short-lived journal, the *transatlantic review*. Joyce initially resisted – they were not ready for publication – but then consigned 'Mamalujo' (part of 11.4) and it appeared, under the heading, 'From Work in Progress', in April 1924. This inaugurated the long, serial publication of the work, a process closely intertwined with its composition. The formal symmetry of *Finnegans Wake* belies the complex and convoluted way Joyce actually composed 'Work in Progress'. Unravelling that story has been the focus of significant scholarship.²⁰

His fame established, Joyce's new work (and his name generally) was co-opted by a variety of enterprises and aesthetic movements: while T. S. Eliot initially attempted to promote the work's formal, classical roots publishing it in his *Criterion*, Eugene Jolas embraced it as exemplary of an opposing avant-garde that revelled in the materiality of the word. Joyce, meanwhile, was principally concerned that his work appeared regularly and in a prominent place (L 1 245). Fragments of his still-unnamed work appeared alongside a wide variety of contemporary works in Robert McAlmon's *Contact Collection* (1925), Samuel Roth's *Two Worlds* (1925–6), Adrienne

Monnier's *Le navire d'argent* (1925), Ernest Walsh and Ethel Moorhead's *This Quarter* (1925) and later in Richard Aldington's *Imagist Anthology* (1930) and E. Tériade's *Verve* (1938). But the pages of *transition* magazine became the primary vehicle for the work.

1927–1939

Eugene Jolas, journalist, editor, poet and proponent of the 'revolution of the word', founded *transition* in April 1927; he and his wife Maria became lifelong friends of the Joyces. Publishing 'Work in Progress' in *transition* was mutually beneficial and the regular deadlines prompted Joyce to write more steadily. From April to November 1927, *transition* published the first eight chapters of Joyce's generically titled 'Work in Progress' (all of Book I of *Finnegans Wake*), of which two first appeared here (1.1 and 1.6). By May 1938, *transition* had published all of Book I, the first three chapters of Book II and all of Book III of what eventually, after a great deal of revision, became *Finnegans Wake*.

Serial publication circulated Joyce's work but it did not pay much, if at all (though if the *Dial* had picked it up as he hoped, it might have). It did bring Joyce's work to the attention of small fine-press publishers – many of whom were poets and artists cum printers of his extended circle – who were looking for material for deluxe editions with which to promote both their own ventures and new literature. The fragments of 'Work in Progress' were perfect content for the hand press, then enjoying a renaissance in New York, Paris and London. Joyce and his publishers focused on turning a profit with these 'Work in Progress' deluxe, limited editions. Most of them were expensive to print and purchase: unlike his other books, these were intended for a coterie of colleagues and the collectors' market. In addition to the promise of income (often unfulfilled), these fine-press editions offered him a new creative outlet for the material expression of his text.

The most financially and arguably aesthetically successful of these editions was *Anna Livia Plurabelle* (1928). Joyce had composed early drafts of this section (1.8 in *Finnegans Wake*) in 1924 and he continued to elaborate its famously fluid language as it appeared, first in *Le navire d'argent* (October 1925) then in *transition* 8 (November 1927). Shortly thereafter, James Wells, owner of the New York publisher Crosby Gaige, approached Joyce for something he could print in a signed, deluxe edition. Wells offered him a 15 per cent royalty on the published price, regardless of sales – a welcome prospect given Joyce's mounting concerns and bills relating to the Roth piracy of *Ulysses*. Beach negotiated a sales price of fifteen dollars

(a full 50 per cent more than Wells had suggested), assuring him that 'demand for a book with the name James Joyce on it would be large enough to sell the edition many times over'.²¹ Harry and Caresse Crosby's Black Sun Press – a vital channel between artists and writers in Paris – published the second deluxe edition, *Tales Told of Shem and Shaun* in the summer of 1929 (containing parts of I.6, II.2 and III.1). *Haveth Childers Everywhere* (part of III.3) followed in an elaborate edition by Wells' new venture, Fountain Press, in 1930, about the time Joyce began preliminary work on other parts of Book II. In 1931, he signed the contract for an American edition of *Finnegans Wake* with Viking, which had acquired Huebsch's firm in 1925; Huebsch need not have worried that these deluxe fragments would curb sales for a complete edition (JJ 641–2).²² The Dutch Servire Press issued the next fragment, *The Mime of Mick, Nick and the Maggies* (an excerpt of II.1), in 1934 and, finally, Corvinus Press, London, produced the last and most extravagantly printed edition in 1937, *Storiella as She is Syung* (containing portions of II.2).

By this time, Joyce was revising Faber & Faber's galley proofs for portions of Books I and III as he was still drafting portions of Book II. In February 1938, he began to compose Book IV and that summer, he turned to some of his 1923 sketches, 'St Kevin' and 'St Patrick', for material and reworked and elaborated 'The Letter' (previously in Book I.5), moving it to the very end of the book, giving ALP the last words.²³ In November 1938, he pronounced the work finished.²⁴ He corrected proofs through December and received an advance copy of the book, finally entitled *Finnegans Wake*, again in time for his birthday though corrections remained. *Finnegans Wake* was officially published on 4 May 1939 in simultaneous trade editions by Faber & Faber in London and Viking in New York, with a jointly issued special edition of 425 copies. As usual, he soon set about making corrections with Paul Léon's assistance; these were first published in 1945 as errata, then incorporated into the text in 1950. Joyce's last work became 'the book of the week' in the UK and the USA when it first appeared and within its first two weeks, ranked eighteenth in sales according to international vendors. Its publishers, meanwhile, were busy assuring the reading public that they had made no mistake: there was no apostrophe in *Finnegans Wake*.

NOTES

1. I have used abbreviations to indicate the location of surviving manuscripts referenced in this essay: [Buffalo] the Poetry Collection, University at Buffalo; [Cornell] Kroch Library, Cornell University; [Harvard] Houghton Library, Harvard University; [NLI] National Library of Ireland; [Rosenbach] the

- Rosenbach Museum and Library, Philadelphia; [Texas] Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin; [Tulsa] McFarlin Library Special Collections, University of Tulsa; [Yale] Beinecke Library, Yale University.
2. Luca Crispi and Stacey Herbert, with Lori N. Curtis, *In Good Company: James Joyce and Publishers, Readers, Friends* (Tulsa: University of Tulsa, 2003), pp. 1–2.
 3. Hans Walter Gabler, 'Introduction', in James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, ed. Hans Walter Gabler and Walter Hettche (New York and London: Garland, 1993), pp. 1–18.
 4. For an in-depth account of the composition of *Dubliners* see Hans Walter Gabler, 'Introduction', in James Joyce, *Dubliners*, ed. Hans Walter Gabler and Walter Hettche (New York and London: Garland, 1993), pp. 1–34.
 5. Robert Scholes, 'Grant Richards to James Joyce', *Studies in Bibliography* 16 (1963): 139–60.
 6. On issues of libel and censorship of *Dubliners* and Joyce's works generally, see Sean Latham, 'The "Nameless Shamelessness" of *Ulysses*: Libel and the Law of Literature', in Jago Morrison and Susan Watkins, eds., *Scandalous Fictions* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 27–37.
 7. The purported printing of 1,000 copies is surely an exaggeration. See Gabler, ed., *Dubliners*, pp. 16–17. For more on the Maunsell edition, see Clare Hutton, 'Chapters of Moral History: Failing to Publish *Dubliners*', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 97:4 (2003): 495–519.
 8. Sotheby's, *Formerly the Property of Stanislaus Joyce* (London: Sotheby's, 2004), pp. 14–17.
 9. *The Egoist* published *A Portrait* in these issues: vol. 1, no. 3–vol. 2, no. 9, with the exception of vol. 1, nos. 18–22 and vol. 2, no. 5.
 10. The long, complex composition of *Ulysses* is the subject of decades of scholarship, which continues to evolve especially with the discovery of new manuscripts. Among other resources listed in the bibliography, this account highlights recent discoveries. See Luca Crispi, 'Manuscript Timeline: 1905–1922', *Genetic Joyce Studies* 4 (2004), www.antwerpjamesjoycecenter.com/GJS/GJS4/GJS4%20Crispi.htm.
 11. For a history of the magazine, see Mark Morrisson, *The Public Face of Modernism: Little Magazines, Audiences, and Reception 1905–1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001).
 12. Twenty-three issues of the *Little Review* contained portions of *Ulysses*: 4.11 (incorrectly numbered 5.11), 4.12 (incorrectly numbered 5.12), 5.1, 5.2 (incorrectly numbered 4.2), 5.3, 5.5, 5.6, 5.9, 5.10–11, 5.12 (incorrectly numbered 5.11), 6.1–6.5, 6.7–6.11, 7.1–7.3.
 13. Crispi and Herbert, *In Good Company*, pp. 9–10.
 14. *The Egoist* issues are: 6, no. 1 (Jan.–Feb. 1919); 6, no. 2 (Mar.–Apr. 1919); 6, no. 3 (July 1919); 6, no. 4 (Sept. 1919); 6, no. 5 (Dec. 1919).
 15. Among many studies of publishing and re-publishing *Ulysses*, see Edward Bishop, 'The "Garbled History" of the First-edition *Ulysses*', *JSA* 9 (1998): 3–36; Stacey Herbert, 'A Draft for *Ulysses* in Print: The Family Tree', *Genetic Joyce Studies* 4 (2004), www.antwerpjamesjoycecenter.com/GJS/GJS4/GJS4%20Herbert.htm.

- 20Herbert.htm; and Sam Slote, 'Ulysses' in the Plural: *The Variable Editions of Joyce's Novel* (Dublin: National Library of Ireland, 2004).
16. On the text of this edition, see Alistair McCleery, 'The Reputation of the 1932 Odyssey Press Edition of *Ulysses*', *Publications of the Bibliographical Society of America* 100:1 (2006): 89–103.
 17. See for example, Michael Moscato and Leslie Le Blanc, eds., *The United States of America v. One Book Entitled Ulysses by James Joyce: Documents and Commentary – a 50-Year Retrospective* (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1984); Joseph Kelly, *Our Joyce: From Outcast to Icon* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), pp. 85–140; and Paul Vanderham, *James Joyce and Censorship: Trials of 'Ulysses'* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), pp. 87–114, to name a few. For a comparative study of the Random House, Odyssey and Roth texts, see Alistair McCleery, 'Collating the Pirates and the Professionals', *Genetic Joyce Studies* 6 (2006), www.antwerpjamesjoycecenter.com/GJS/GJS6/GJS6McCleery.htm.
 18. The exceedingly complex composition history of *Finnegans Wake* is documented by over 25,000 pages of textual evidence (including 36 volumes of the *JJA*) and decades of scholarship. For the most comprehensive account to date, see the essays by fifteen authors collected in Luca Crispi and Sam Slote, eds., *How Joyce Wrote Finnegans Wake: A Chapter-by-Chapter Genetic Guide* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007).
 19. In 2004, the National Library of Ireland acquired a series of manuscripts related to the composition of *Finnegans Wake* – scholars have just begun to explore them. The existence (and interpretation) of these manuscripts confirms some, while casting doubt on other, prior speculations; they also point toward additional lacunae in the manuscript record of the work.
 20. See: A. Walton Litz, *The Art of James Joyce* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961); David Hayman, ed., *A First-Draft Version of 'Finnegans Wake'* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1963); David Hayman, *The Wake in Transit* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990); *JJA*; Danis Rose, *The Textual Diaries of James Joyce* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1995); Vincent Deane, Daniel Ferrer and Michael Groden, eds., *The Finnegans Wake Notebooks at Buffalo* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2001–).
 21. Sylvia Beach to James Wells, 5 Dec. 1927, the James Joyce Collection, XII, 'Beach to James Wells' 1, University at Buffalo.
 22. Catherine Fahy, *The James Joyce–Paul Léon Papers in the National Library of Ireland: A Catalogue* (Dublin: National Library of Ireland, 1992), p. 141.
 23. Crispi and Slote, eds., *How Joyce Wrote*, pp. 436–61.
 24. Harriet Shaw Weaver to Paul Léon, 5 Dec. 1938, the James Joyce–Paul Léon Papers, II, National Library of Ireland.

CHAPTER 2

Biography

Finn Fordham

The letter! The litter! And the soother the bitther!

(FW 93.24)

We are still learning to be Richard Ellmann's successors, to overcome Joyce's principal interpreter. This chapter approaches the life of Joyce biography by reflecting critically on its current condition, by diagnosing its symptoms and causes, examining the roles it is failing to fulfil and outlining the obstacles that any future work faces. In my conclusion I will entertain the idea of an ideal biography, however distant or impossible it may appear to be, and suggest what it might avoid and what it might consist of.

A recent survey of current Joycean biography has been carried out by John McCourt where the impression is of a lively field in which the life has necessarily become 'many lives', as Ira Nadel, quoting Denis Donoghue, put it in 1999.¹ My view is that its current state is strikingly eccentric. Imagine a city, its downtown area resembling Mervyn Peake's Gormenghast – at its centre stands a monolithic, sprawling, over-used and decaying, charming but distrusted edifice, stylish and gorgeous in detail but also, upon close inspection, with parts tacked on over gaps, creating illusory effects of completion and tidiness and representing a questionable ideological content: the Ellmann building.² Intruding upon its grounds are contending but narrower structures, covering stages of Joyce's life: Peter Costello's somewhat drab and uneven picture of the years up to 1915, or John McCourt's colourful account of the role of Trieste.³ Another feature of this conglomeration are adjacent forms which, rather than competing openly with Ellmann, construct pictures of his family: his father John, partner Nora and daughter Lucia. There have been no structures built around the subjects of Joyce's mother, his son, nor, most surprisingly, his brother, nor, less surprisingly, his grandson, nor have the later Paris years been reconstructed in the detailed manner that they deserve. The range of studies we do have will never be as frequently visited as Ellmann's, but they have qualified the stature of his work in

different ways: Maddox, for instance, opened up James and Nora's sex life to view,⁴ Costello raised several questions about fact and approach and McCourt about Joyce's political and cultural milieu.

This cityscape might be imagined as lively and quaint. But quaint it is not. When put in the context of Joyce's complex significance and his energetic but fluid centrality in the cultural map of the twentieth century, it is in an appalling condition: pressure for alternative structures has long been mounting but with little expectation of release, and while rich resources can be inspected and scrutinised, they have been rendered unusable by an oppressive set of regulations enforced by the James Joyce Estate. There is new material to fill gaps and open up fresh areas but it cannot be made public. In such circumstances an alarming structure can rear up, such as that produced recently about Lucia.⁵ In that case, an incapacity and unwillingness to let simple facts speak for themselves became strategically hidden behind the half-truth that not being allowed to use documents was a sign of dark secrets. Through liberal uses of suggestion and imagination, a revelation was concocted. The phantasmagorical and confused city spreads, communication between zones breaking down.

Compare this with the lives of other writers: Virginia Woolf and René Descartes, for instance, have had three full biographies apiece in the last ten years. Attention to famous writers in a thriving market for biography can be expected, and one would have expected at least one substantial study of Joyce's life. But the last full and full-length biography was Ellmann's, appearing in 1959, another era. Ellmann did revise it considerably for the centenary of Joyce's birth in 1982, but the general shape and the kinds of value judgements that appeared – for instance in the 'Preface' which was identical in both versions – remained the same.

The subject of Joyce's personality is today in disarray. Which was he: an egotist, a narcissist, unpredictable, prudish, old-fashioned, bourgeois, generous, mean-spirited, a drunk, a liar and a self-deceiver, moralistically and hypocritically down on hypocritical moralists, superstitious, manipulative, placid, humorous, good company, inconsistent, morose, misanthropic, a snob, a humanist, short-tempered, languid? A man of small virtue, as he described himself, or a heroic being, as Beckett described him? Joyce dangles these qualities before us in the figure of Shem in *Finnegans Wake*, and they feature in different ways in Ellmann, where as a person he appears in the round as a forgivably proud or painfully tragic humanist hero, a Don Quixote or a King Lear (both self-deceivers), who nevertheless manages – mysteriously – to give to the world a twentieth-century Don Quixote and a Falstaff. But Ellmann's picture of a developing personality is *fifty years old*.

A basic function of biography, however distasteful to purer conceptions of literary criticism and theory, is to popularise an author's works. The decaying and fragmented state of Joyce's biography threatens the next generation's interest in Joyce's work. It helps create an environment of Joyce studies that is increasingly specialist and, in the context of modernist studies, even isolationist. For all the vitality and rigour in the scholarly industry, for all its original advances, the material that is analysed and the approaches that are being developed are unlikely to have a broad appeal to graduate level readers. Without a fresh biography, Joyce studies may be losing the broad base of undergraduate interest out of which the freshest work will eventually appear. The need for an update is pressing, as it has been at least since Hugh Kenner's famously sceptical hatchet job review of the revised *James Joyce* which, as Joe Brooker says in this volume, made the whole edifice 'tremble slightly'. No new life has been forthcoming however.

Three difficulties can be claimed for this lack of a new biography, and they explain the curious layout of the city of Joycean biography, so ripe for redevelopment but hindered from it indefinitely. The first is that, despite all the niggles with and doubts cast on Ellmann, his biography establishes an overwhelmingly tough precedent to follow. When Anthony Burgess said it was 'the greatest literary biography of the century', he was witnessing its influence on biography as much as on Joyceans. Instantly heralded on its 1959 appearance as 'indispensable', it was still being described in this way in the 1990s in Lernout's *French Joyce*, for example. Given, uniquely among commentaries, its own abbreviation in the *James Joyce Quarterly* – JJ – it seems to sit comfortably on the shelf next to Joyce's own works, as if it were part of the canon, pored over and cited more often than several of his works, such as the grossly underestimated play *Exiles*. Having been established for so long as part of the œuvre, how can it now be displaced? It would be like offering an improved *Dubliners*.

The second obstacle is the immense increase in highly relevant archival material to have emerged since 1982. There are hundreds of new letters not just by Joyce but by other writers in his milieu that are relevant to his life. The most important of the new sources, the Léon collection that was opened by the National Library of Ireland in 1992, reveals vital information regarding the writer's final decade in Paris. There is also the Jahnke bequest given to the Joyce Foundation in Zurich. Publishers' archives generally, as Warwick Gould notes, 'force us to focus in a new way on the one thing which many literary biographers frequently find hardest to give an account of – the activity of writing itself'.⁶ The Eliot Archive in Kensington in London, representative of 'adjacent' materials, houses fascinating and

unpublished but, on polite request, readable material that sheds light on the Eliot–Joyce relationship, detailing how Joyce was published in the 1920s (including the doubts Eliot and Joyce had about Budgen's *Making of Ulysses*, which nevertheless became a key critical source). Such new material is especially challenging because it opens up a sense of the complex cultural webs in which Joyce moved and in which he was moved, qualifying the monolithic sense of Joyce derived from Ellmann in which he is the single spider at the centre of all his operations, engineering everything around him.

The third and probably most potent difficulty is due to the policy, openly declared, of the James Joyce Estate under Stephen Joyce, who, to protect the reputation of his grandfather and his works, wishes to prevent any further invasions, as he sees them, of the Joyce family's privacy. After a mild reign under Joyce's son Giorgio, who died in 1976, Joyce's grandson, Stephen, began to make his influence felt, at first most strikingly over Brenda Maddox's biography of Nora Barnacle. Maddox had to exclude from her volume the final chapter – partly about Lucia Joyce's time in Northampton – and promise not to speak or write about it in public. Since then the Estate's involvement has frequently been disruptive of scholarly research into both the life and the works. Permission to quote from published work proves expensive while permission to quote from unpublished materials, which would of course be essential for a new biography, is never given. There is a deep and acrimonious rift between the Estate and many Joyceans, a rift that a prophetic Joyce seems to have forecast (alongside many other predictions) as inevitable, for the disputes resemble the twin brothers fighting over the corpse and the symbolic inheritance of the dead father, a vision Joyce borrowed from Vico's account of primitive humanity, and transferred to *Finnegans Wake*.

These obstacles explain the state of recent biography, and determine its form in the immediate future: a thorough and fresh biography in essence is now impossible.

The impossibility does not stop one imagining how an ideal biography might be, however. Contrary to Kenner's pessimistic view ('no use anyone thinking of starting over'), there is a point because it is worth preparing at least for what might one day happen, and it enables a criticism of the present. McCourt argues that a post-Ellmann phase has begun. I suggest that Joyce biographies have, following Ellmann, kept alive two prevalent tendencies which could be avoided when considering what an ideal biography might be. They are prevalent in the modern version of the genre, pioneered, in good part, by Ellmann. Ellmann's research was made possible by post-war grants so he could travel widely in Joyce's wake and to the key

archives in order to amass material which he then shaped into a form that came to resemble the loose baggy monsters of the nineteenth-century novel. This was almost a reversion to biography in the form Lytton Strachey described as being 'ill-digested masses of material ... [with a] lamentable lack of selection, ... [and] design'. Strachey had proposed instead biographies which had a 'becoming brevity' and did not need to be discreet.⁷ Ellmann was both voluminous and, over Joyce's erotic letters to Nora, for instance, relatively discreet. Slim Stracheyan volumes do still appear (like Morris Beja's eloquent account, Edna O'Brien's flawed study, Ian Pindar's lightly handled appreciation) but they can no longer compete with or contribute to the expectations of the Humanities' Research Industries, nor displace Ellmann's popularising and seemingly exhaustive portrait.⁸

A consequence of the accumulated detail, and the first tendency of Joyce biographies, is the need to give as much of it as possible a literary point. Keys to Joyce's work are presented in every detail of their chosen subject matter. For Ellmann and Beja the whole experience of life is central to the work: for Costello it is his youth, especially the years spent in Dublin, for McCourt it is Trieste where Joyce matured; for Maddox, Nora is the figure behind Molly and key to the feminine as a whole; for Wyse Jackson and Costello, the 'overflowing fountain of personal human history' that was John Joyce 'turned' in *Finnegans Wake* 'into the teeming history of the world', so that *Finnegans Wake* is equivalent to John Joyce; for Carol Shloss, Lucia is the muse behind *Finnegans Wake*.⁹ His emotional experiences of people and places, of relationships and atmospheres, explain Joyce's thematic preoccupations: rivalries, betrayals, obsessions, obstacles, misunderstandings. Such a life is dramatically de-textualised: reading and writing – especially writing – are not part of life's drama, but happen off-stage. Relationships with the living are more important and easier to deal with: the interpretation of what a given piece of literature meant to a writer is far more open to dispute and harder to fix than that of a relationship, in which the existence of letters allows you to see both sides addressing each other directly. But that should not exclude the engagement with texts forming part of the life of a writer. Where there seem to be exceptions – as in McCourt's study of various Italian cultural influences on Joyce – the ideological dangers in the canon of texts that emerges and the way a writer engages with the texts are clearly fraught. McCourt devotes several pages to the writer Ferrero and the futurists, but less to the Europeans Joyce was reading and declared to be important – Tolstoy, Flaubert, Ibsen – each with distinct political and artistic agendas. The intertextuality of Joyce's works is explained positively as a celebratory reflection of his experience of the multiculturalism of the

cities Joyce knew; their self-referentiality is explained by the narcissism in his personality. Wide-reading and the many-levelled process of his multiple revisions and elaborate stylisation do not feature as sources for these aspects.

The second tendency is a particularity of literary biography generally: the life of an artist always slides neatly along two and sometimes three parallel tracks of time simultaneously: the unfolding present of experience; the future when that experience will be transmuted into art; and, at times, the distant era of the text's reception, a 'durée' imagined to extend through eternity, for art's immortality to stretch itself out. Literary biography implies that, as events unfold and perceptions of them bed down into the writer's memory, alongside them, there hovers intensely the intention of one day representing them: a Paterian vision of the intensely lived aesthetic life. 'Its events are becoming artistic sources even as they command his present attention', as Ellmann said in his preface (*JJ* 3). Every moment sows a seed that may one day come to fruition and afterwards emerge through the labour of writing. This makes the life of a writer seem always pregnant with unborn art. It makes the life rich with a double and sometimes treble imminence, an intense and mysterious life worth living because it lives every moment twice, sometimes more. We do not read biographies to learn about ourselves, as a long tradition still piously asserts, so much as to fantasise ourselves living such lives, always preparing for action, then acting and enjoying its consequences. A challenge for a literary biography would be to move always and only at the single time of a present that is not full of its future representation or fame waiting in the wings, already plotted as in a page-turning novel, but that is sometimes blank, infertile, boring, ordinary, barren. Such blank periods – days or weeks on end, or, artistically, the years 1928–31 – often leave scant traces, but biographies could make such silences speak. Biographies compress the movement in a life, are consequently noisier than it and project a noisy life on to the work. Joyce said there was a lot of silence in his work. The silences of the life need to be found and allowed space to breathe into the work too.

Put together these tendencies mean that Joyce biography has managed to stress the necessity of its own practice, for Joyce's writing was autobiographical. We have to study the life in order to understand the work because 'Joyce was his own biographer', as Ira Nadel stated, or 'what Joyce wrote Joyce had experienced', as Kenner (more sarcastically) said.¹⁰ This mystifies him as either a witch-doctor, transmuting his experience (of betrayal, for instance) into a form of art that resembles voodoo, or as a navel-gazing narcissist projecting through the minute particularities of what he finds universal forms. Terry Eagleton, reviewing Shloss, implies that Joyce,

reflecting his art, was 'narcissistic', even though the problems for a narcissist are surely the inability to communicate with anybody else, or to produce anything – decidedly not Joyce's case.¹¹

Reconstructing the experiences transmuted into art means the life tends to be empirical rather than textual, lived and not read, keeping the divisions between life and text, and life and work firmly drawn. Engagement with texts, especially those that are written, always comes second because making a life is dramatic in ways that making texts are not. Biographies should nonetheless be able to dramatise the life in the work, in its very processes, something Julia Briggs has just done successfully for Virginia Woolf.¹² The most frequently quoted instance of Joyce's composition processes looks like a myth. Beckett, taking down Joyce's dictation, wrote 'come in' into *Finnegans Wake* without realising that Joyce was responding to a knock at the door. Joyce queried then accepted the words into the text, and it has been accepted as representative of a delightful role for contingency in composition. But it is atypical of Joyce's writing processes and, there being no clear evidence for it in the final text nor, so far, in the drafts, it begins to look suspiciously like an 'Irish Fact', Hugh Kenner's sceptical description of the anecdotal distortions that feature too prominently for him in Ellmann's Joyce. Beckett must have enjoyed the metaphor: his story knocked on the door and by chance and by mistake was welcomed in.

The freshest research in Joyce studies in the last ten years has emerged in the annotated Buffalo Notebooks. These textualist studies are, though they might never declare themselves as such, forms of biography, 'textual diaries' in Danis Rose's phrase.¹³ We can now speak of aspects of the life of Joyce's work in ways we never could, reconstruct the ways he was writing, the texts he was reading, the notes that he took, what he ignored and the manner of the notes' integration into his own texts. From the notebooks and their draft usage, we are beginning to get a less hazy picture of what Joyce was actually *doing* in those last eighteen years of his life, which are the least examined in the biography. Such literary activities, producing a rich stream of tiny details, could be integrated into a sense of the life because they reveal Joyce's art as not primarily autobiographical, not centred narrowly on self and family, but having a broader outward-looking vision of the world, with a covert but active engagement with its texts, incorporating contemporary Irish, European, international and global politics, advances in science and technology and shifts in the movements of contemporaneous thought into his parallel universe.

Nearing the end of composing *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce remarked that 'since 1922 my book has been a greater reality for me than reality' (*JF* 695).

The live environment of this greater textual reality should be recreated as the context for his life, in order to understand Joyce's mediated relationship with what was, for him, the lesser material reality of life. To integrate this kind of knowledge into a life of a writer would be to begin to get to the heart of the relationship between living and writing, surely one aim of a literary biography. As Max Saunders, Ford Madox Ford's biographer, puts it: 'the simultaneous processes of living and writing shape each other in complex and often surprising ways'.¹⁴ But this two-way process is not something that we have yet seen much in biographies of Joyce.

The ideal biography, from my limited perspective, would offer a single over-arching biography. The argument that Joyce's biography will continue to be built up and rebuilt incrementally by many different scholars taking different topics may, in the short term, be pragmatic. And it seems neatly consistent with the current sense that one's self is multiple: each life is many lives, as Stephen says. But it cannot give a picture of the shifts in personality over the whole life while it also constructs a life that is over-periodised. Continuity may be a construction, but discontinuity is too.

The ideal would be exhaustive and pursue objectivity, tackling Ellmann to definitively put an end to its definitive status and the notion of a definitive life. It would bear the marks of its own provisionality, of the gaps in the sources, outline where letters are missing, indicate when a story is anecdotal, part of a memoir or interview; it would check Ellmann's facts against his sources, many of which are available at the McFarlin Library in Tulsa (a visit there is an excellent way of seeing 'the life' as we know it in its pre-formed provisionality). From such provisional techniques it would build a picture of Joyce's life that was itself often, for its own subject, provisional. Ideally it would move, as suggested above, along just one wave of time, the present, in which writing would be acknowledged to form a central set of events in the life: Joyce's time in Paris in 1902 would not be interspersed with Dedalus' memories of Paris; Joyce's time in Trieste in 1915, however, would be interspersed with the moments when memories were transformed and transferred to Dedalus. Dedalus and all the other characters would feature not as alter-egos or glosses on Joyce's life, because they are entirely different kinds of being, textual forms, open to radical reformation, not equivalent to anything human. A life preoccupied by the development and transformation of the texts present to its subject would then emerge, not one pregnant with a heroic expectation of inevitable emergence. From the nature of the work, and the shifting voices of the letters, a nuanced sense of a personality that changed shape along a wide spectrum of character traits would slowly appear – dogged, decisive, uncertain, obsessive,

indifferent, methodical. Aspects of his personality mentioned earlier would emerge but with new emphases: around his masochism, perhaps, or his generosity; the periodic condition of mild-manic depression, which Lucia inherited in spades, or his cruel ingratitude, to Beach and Weaver, for instance. Then there is the auto/biographical aspect to contend with: the manipulation of his persona, his careful projection of himself and his negotiation of the constructions of others, as can be seen with the first biography by Gorman. Eventually, crucially, a sense of the shifting personality of the social web in which he found himself would appear too.

A scrupulous meanness with imagination and the imagined life would be necessary. There are so many facts, and the majority of them can be left to speak for themselves. The result might be a little dry, without the colourful and moving textured blur provided by the slapped-on-any-how personal impressions: a little like Hermione Lee's meticulous treatment of Virginia Woolf, picking over contentious issues with tact and care. Such an ideal may appear to be an absurd challenge: old knots to unpick, new strands to be discovered, the ideal of the infinitely expanding process of composition as part of the life. And against all of that is the subject himself, silent, cunning, second-guessing every move, with a loathing, or so it appears, for the procedures of the biographer: the word 'biografiend' (*FW* 55.06), coined in the *Wake*, is becoming common parlance and seems to witness Joyce's strong dislike of the genre. There are worse terms: like 'Nazi priers' (375.18), nosey parkers with Nazi attitudes to humiliate those deemed 'less pure'. Shaun is an embodiment of these types and their insidious curiosity, as he assassinates the personality of his brother the artist with his duplicitous preaching: 'let us pry' (188.08). But this subject, Joyce, is too consistently inconsistent or blank in his ethical and political positions, too slippery to scare biographers off: he continually read and digested biographies himself – especially literary ones, and he drew on them for his literary criticism and fiction: Mangan, Blake, Shakespeare, Swift, Carroll, Wilde, Parnell, McCormack, etc. He took note of and engaged in public morality debates that grew out of trials, like those of Parnell, Wilde and Bywaters, where private letters were made public. Joyce's use of biography, and his judgments about the characters of the subjects, places him as someone willing to be part of the process of prolonging the dissemination of what had once been private matter, exposed by biography. Joyce may prefer to differentiate himself from Shaun's insistently nosy prying, and identify with the washerwomen, gleefully gossiping about the affairs of their masters and mistresses: and biographers may wish to do that too. The effect, however, is the same – the incitement into discourse of personal and private concerns. Joyce's work

is full of the incitement to biographical discourse and, to that extent, sanctions the practice itself – when one gets the chance to practise it, that is.

But even if a chance were given, before a biography could ever be started, the ground would have to be cleared through a new edition – complete, unexpurgated and fully annotated – of *The Letters*. This is necessarily on a very distant horizon; and the ideal biography is beyond that still where it has been receding and, as the steady trickle of new facts and new contexts continues, where it will continue steadily to recede.

NOTES

1. John McCourt, 'Reading Ellmann Reading Joyce', in John Nash, ed., *Joyce's Audiences* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), pp. 41–58; Ira Nadel, 'Joyce and Blackmail', *JML* 22.2 (1999): 215.
2. Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce: Revised Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).
3. Peter Costello, *James Joyce: The Years of Growth* (London: Kyle Cathie, 1992); John McCourt, *The Years of Bloom: James Joyce in Trieste, 1904–1920* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2000).
4. Brenda Maddox, *Nora: A Biography of Nora Joyce* (London: Hamilton, 1988).
5. Carol Shloss, *Lucia Joyce: To Dance in the Wake* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003).
6. Warwick Gould, "'Witch" or "Bitch" – Which?: Yeats, Archives, and the Profession of Authorship Archive', in Warwick Gould and Thomas Staley, eds., *Writing the Lives of Writers* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), p. 175.
7. Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians* (London: Continuum, 2002), pp. 2–3.
8. Morris Beja, *James Joyce: A Literary Life* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992); Edna O'Brien, *James Joyce* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999); Ian Pindar, *Joyce* (London: Haus, 2004).
9. John Wyse Jackson with Peter Costello, *John Stanislaus Joyce: The Voluminous Life and Genius of James Joyce's Father* (London: Fourth Estate, 1997).
10. Nadel, 'Joyce and Blackmail': 217; Hugh Kenner, 'The Impertinence of Being Definitive', *Times Literary Supplement*, 17 Dec. 1982: 1383–4.
11. Terry Eagleton, 'Her Father's Dotter', *London Review of Books*, 22 July 2004: 16.
12. Julia Briggs, *Virginia Woolf: An Inner Life* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2006).
13. Danis Rose, *The Textual Diaries of Finnegans Wake* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1995).
14. Max Saunders, 'Ford, Eliot, Joyce and the Problems of Literary Biography', in Gould and Staley, eds., *Writing the Lives of Writers*, p. 174.

CHAPTER 3

Letters

William S. Brockman

Joyce's letters offer the contemporary reader a grounding of his works within the world in which they were composed and first read. The letters form a documentary matrix with his other writings (both those intended for publication and those of a more personal nature), with others' letters to him and with related correspondence of family members and close relations. Involved in any understanding of Joyce's correspondence are issues of copyright, ownership, censorship and academic ethics. While the published letters of James Joyce are staples of libraries and of Joyceans' private bookshelves, their apparent solidity and certainty belie a complex history, both in their editorial makeup and in their reception. Each of the major compilations (published in 1957, 1966 and 1975) is representative of its era, defined by scholarly trends, privacy concerns and the sheer availability of material. Selective as each is, the several volumes of published letters represent more of a succession of critical and cultural attitudes toward Joyce than a documentary summation. This essay will give a short history of the publication of the letters and examine ways in which the published and the unpublished letters inform the reading of all of Joyce's works.

The formal opening of the James Joyce–Paul Léon collection of correspondence and documents at the National Library of Ireland, held in conjunction with the International James Joyce Symposium of 1992, offered a modern epiphany regarding the public dimension of Joyce's letters. Gathered by Joyce's friend and amanuensis Léon following the Joyce family's hasty departure from Paris in the face of the German invasion, the letters were given by Léon to the Irish legation in France for safekeeping, with a request that they be sealed for fifty years. Short of Léon's brief description of these materials as correspondence to and from Joyce in the 1930s, nothing had been known of the collection.¹ A Symposium panel entitled 'A New Edition of the Letters' offered a forum for a wide-ranging discussion of inconsistencies in the already published letters and gave an

optimistic voice to the possibility of a new compilation that would encompass the numerous extant unpublished letters.²

The enthusiasm at the opening of the Joyce–Léon papers was tempered by the earlier announcement that certain letters had been given to Joyce's grandson, Stephen James Joyce, and that others had been sealed for an additional fifty years. Though the National Library was criticised for its action, this criticism was mollified by appreciation of the rich collection that documented the professional activities of Joyce as a public figure in the 1920s and 1930s.³ Such a substantial cache of material had the potential to spur new biographical research and indeed a comprehensive edition of the correspondence. But this has not been the case. As management of rights to publication of James Joyce's works had moved in the 1990s from the Society of Authors directly to the Estate of James Joyce, and as the extension of copyright in the United States and the European Union had given the Estate a stronger legal framework, constraints on the use of Joyce's writings multiplied.⁴ A letter to the editor of the *James Joyce Quarterly* in 1994 from Stephen Joyce and Seán Sweeney, the Estate's Trustee, captures the tenor of these years in warning unnamed persons that any attempt to publish a *Complete and Comprehensive Letters of James Joyce* must proceed with the agreement and under the control of the Estate.⁵ The Estate has continued in recent years to exert stringent requirements on publication, promoting a narrow interpretation of 'fair use' or 'fair dealing', and casts a shadow on any re-edition or even scholarly use of Joyce's letters.⁶

Though such confrontation is a relatively recent development, Joyce's correspondence has had a vigorous public life for decades in venues ranging from the rare manuscript trade to the popular press. It was a commodity as early as 1929, when book dealer Jacob Schwartz acquired for later resale collections of Joyce's letters to literary agent James Pinker and to publisher Grant Richards.⁷ The first substantial publication of the letters, in Herbert Gorman's biography of 1939, included transcriptions of Joyce's correspondence to members of his family and to various publishers and acquaintances.⁸

The impetus for a collected publication of Joyce's letters arose in the mid-1940s several years after his death, spurred primarily by Harriet Shaw Weaver, Joyce's long-term benefactor and close friend of the family.⁹ As Administrator of the Estate along with lawyer F. R. Monroe, Weaver had both access to substantial sources of correspondence and the legal power to authorise publication. Though Stuart Gilbert, family friend and writer of *James Joyce's 'Ulysses': A Study* (1930), was chosen as the formal editor of the letters, Weaver performed much of the work of soliciting contributions and editing content. As Weaver worked largely from transcriptions rather than

originals, as much correspondence was yet to be discovered, and as her affiliation with the Joyces gave her reason to be discreet in her choice of material, what had begun as a collection of Joyce's letters became a picked and chosen selection. Gilbert himself admits in his 'Note on the Editing' that parts of letters were omitted: 'For the most part these affect passages relating to personal and private matters, of no general interest' (L 1 39). The search for material and the editing proceeded slowly; *Letters of James Joyce* was finally published in 1957.

Both despite and as a result of the constraints of its compilation, *Letters* reads energetically. It begins with the bold greetings of then nineteen-year-old Joyce to Henrik Ibsen: 'I have sounded your name defiantly' (L 1 51) followed by a letter to Lady Gregory which presciently combines a request for money with bold defiance: 'I shall try myself against the powers of the world' (L 1 53). There is sufficient correspondence with Grant Richards to chart in some detail Joyce's frustration with the decade-long delay in publication of *Dubliners*. Letters to James Pinker, John Quinn, B. W. Heusch, T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound document Joyce's exhaustive struggles to get his work into print. The many letters to Harriet Weaver mingle mundane details of health and family life with valuable explications and textual notes of the developing *Ulysses* and especially of *Finnegans Wake*. There are poems – e.g. 'Rosy Brook he bought a book' (L 1 214). There is the piece 'ordered' by Weaver for which Joyce sends what were to become the initial lines of *Finnegans Wake*, complete with a detailed gloss (L 1 247–8). Joyce sends to Weaver a touching testimonial following his father's death: 'Hundreds of pages and scores of characters in my books came from him' (L 1 312). He shares with her worries over the health of his daughter Lucia. He writes to a young Stephen Joyce the charming story published posthumously as *The Cat and the Devil* (L 1 386–7). The final letters from 1940 document his struggle to flee occupied France into Switzerland and to care for Lucia, and the book ends dramatically with a letter thanking the mayor of Zurich for his assistance in granting an entry permit a month before Joyce's death.

From a viewpoint a half-century after publication, *Letters* is as integral to the Joyce canon as the works he saw through to publication in his lifetime. Joyce's descriptions to Richards of *Dubliners* have come to characterise the stories as if they were part of the text: 'the chapter of the moral history of my country' (L 1 62), 'the odour of ashpits and old weeds and offal hangs round my stories' (L 1 64). *Letters* reads as a bildungsroman – the development of the brash young student into the world-renowned writer – with a variety of characters and plot twists. Its nominal annotation minimises the scholarly

tone that in other collections of letters can threaten to overwhelm the text. In fact, its omissions and transcriptional inaccuracies pale in importance before the influence that this volume has had on readers of Joyce.

While Stuart Gilbert and Harriet Weaver were finalising the material for *Letters*, Richard Ellmann was engaged in research for his forthcoming biography of Joyce. Gilbert had acknowledged as early as 1955 the possibility of a further compilation of Joyce's correspondence: 'There are still many hundreds of letters worth publishing and a second selection, handled by an expert editor, might be worth considering.'¹⁰ Ellmann, who had supplied a chronology for *Letters*, was chosen as the new editor. He had what Gilbert and Weaver lacked: access to Joyce's brother, Stanislaus. From the time of Joyce's departure from Ireland in 1904, the brothers had corresponded heavily. Stanislaus had retained hundreds of Joyce's letters along with other family correspondence. This material became available after Stanislaus' death in 1955 when his widow sought a buyer for the correspondence and found in Ellmann an intermediary for the sale to Cornell. For Ellmann, the collection supplied a crucial context:

The whole sense of Joyce as a member of a family, with father, mother, brothers, and sisters, comes out very strongly here and in a way that it does not emerge anywhere else. In fact, the picture of his personality is remarkably complete. Most of the letters are long and detailed, and deal both with his external life and his intellectual history.¹¹

Ellmann also had access to typed transcriptions of Joyce's letters to Weaver, nearly double the more than one hundred published by Gilbert. Weaver had heavily censored her collection in transcription and in fact destroyed a number of individual items that contained critical remarks, personal information, Joyce's reactions to criticism of his own work, the family's personal affairs and details of Weaver's substantial financial support. Nevertheless, the candour which Joyce offered Weaver came through.

Despite the omissions in the letters to Weaver, the *Letters* II and III that Ellmann saw through to publication in 1966 were exemplary in transcription, annotation and indexing. He identified the source of each letter, included an extensive list of Joyce's lifetime addresses and gave supplementary narrative history. Ellmann's widespread research for the biography had put him in touch with numerous associates and Joyce family members on whom he could call for material in private collections. Ellmann estimated that the most important correspondence brought to light were the letters written by Joyce between his eighteenth and thirty-third year – for the most part, those in Stanislaus Joyce's collection. In *Letters* II, ardent letters to

Nora Barnacle track their early courtship in 1904. Addressed to Stanislaus in Dublin are extensive accounts of Joyce's life in Trieste and details of the writing of *Stephen Hero* and later its revision into *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. The daily life of James and Nora is vivid in these early letters: details of food, clothing, furniture and neighbours abound. Everything revolves around the family's attempts to survive on a shoestring budget. *Letters III* opens with the family's move to Paris, and includes a correspondence reflecting Joyce's ascendance into a cosmopolitan literary world: letters to Valéry Larbaud, Ford Madox Ford, Caresse Crosby and Sean O'Casey document the publication and reception of *Ulysses* and the various components of *Work in Progress*. The many letters to Weaver dominate this volume with ongoing annals of the composition of *Finnegans Wake* but also offer much more family information than came through in Gilbert's *Letters* regarding the development of Lucia's mental instability and the deterioration of Joyce's vision. Joyce's letters written from exile in Saint-Gérand-Le-Puy chronicle his struggles to engineer a safe haven for the family while caught up in the developing war.

Joyce's trip to Dublin to establish a cinema theatre during several months in late 1909 provided the opportunity for an exchange with Nora of sexually explicit letters that have become not only notorious but the most well-known component of the entire œuvre of his correspondence. Ellmann was well aware of the likely controversy that publication of Joyce's side of the correspondence would bring (Nora's replies have apparently not survived). He argued vigorously with the publishers to include them in *Letters II* and *III* as being essential components of Joyce's life and writing, telling Peter du Sautoy of publisher Faber & Faber:

Every one of Joyce's books in his lifetime, except *Chamber Music*, temporarily outraged or offended some people, and there is something appropriate about his continuing to outrage (but ultimately to awaken respect) from outre-tomb. He felt – as he said in 'The Holy Office' – that his mission as an artist was to tell the truth about the body when his contemporaries were off in soul-country. I think we are keeping faith with him if we publish his letters as he wrote them.¹²

Ellmann succeeded in publishing most of the 1909 letters in *Letters II*, but with excisions. Reviewers noticed these letters immediately; and readers who wanted more took the trip to Cornell or shared the transcriptions that were in circulation.¹³ Given the widespread knowledge of the letters and hence a diminishing rationale for discretion, Ellmann successfully included in *Selected Letters* of 1975 full texts of all the extant 1909 letters to Nora. While the dustjacket of the American edition touted the inclusion of the

complete run of these, more textually and biographically important additions to this volume resulted from the unsealing of the Weaver collection at the British Museum, from which came five additional letters to Weaver and full transcriptions of several dozen previously excised letters.

The path through the published letters was becoming complex. A lightly revised *Letters I* was reissued along with *Letters II* and *III*, but there was no attempt to integrate the content of the three. *Selected Letters* was yet another distinct series. Ellmann's announcement that 'an eventual edition of all Joyce's letters, including many not previously known, is contemplated' acknowledged this complexity and also recognised a quantity of yet unpublished correspondence (*SL* vii). A partial response to the availability of other letters was the publication in 1987 of *James Joyce's Letters to Sylvia Beach*, drawn from the substantial collections at the State University of New York at Buffalo. Documenting the publication of *Ulysses* by Beach's Shakespeare and Company in 1922 and the ensuing decade's re-editions, along with his continual demands from Beach for favours, errands and money, this is an essential supplement to the other volumes – but yet a fourth chronological sequence of documents. The extensive paraphrases of letters in the catalogue of the Léon collection at the National Library offer a surrogate compilation of yet another body of documents. The dispersal of letters and the large number of unpublished items, coupled with the knowledge that publication of a comprehensive edition would be unlikely in the foreseeable future drove the publication in 1994 of *The Joyce Calendar*, an attempt to index all extant correspondence of Joyce's. The *Calendar* documents not only the 1,786 pieces of correspondence published to date, but adds details of some 1,400 others located in libraries and private collections or identified through rare book dealers' and auction catalogues.¹⁴

Despite Ellmann's eloquent defence of his actions in publishing the 1909 letters in full, the ethics of research use of the letters and of their publication has been a contentious issue. One critic has proposed that letters of a sensitive nature be available only to established scholars who had mastered the skill of a 'humane appreciation' of Joyce's personal correspondence.¹⁵ Another, who disapproved of Ellmann's decision as favouring 'voyeurism', proposed restrictions on the access of researchers to parts of the Joyce–Léon collection in an effort to maintain family privacy.¹⁶ Yet, as decades have passed since Joyce's death in 1941, and 'James Joyce' has become an amalgam of constructions by a wide range of audiences, the question of who constitutes Joyce's family and what might give those individuals a primary voice over access to documents has become increasingly abstract.¹⁷ Neither Nora Joyce nor their son Giorgio ever made a public statement

regarding Joyce's letters (Lucia was institutionalised by the time of Joyce's death and had little opportunity to participate in such a discussion). Admittedly, Joyce intended some letters to be read specifically by their addressees and no one else. For example, writing to Stanislaus, still living in Dublin with father and siblings after James and Nora have left for the continent, he indicates in a letter that the bottom few lines, mingling news that he has had sexual relations with Nora with a plea for money, should be detached so as not to be seen by the rest of the family (*L* II 66n). But Joyce's permission to Gorman to print letters in the biography of 1939 (which Joyce insisted on reviewing in proof) was a validation by Joyce himself of the principle of publication of letters originally intended for the eyes of an individual.¹⁸

Joyce's letters are important to readers for several reasons. The biographical information that they offer contributes to understanding the mind and personality of the writer as a means to an engagement with his work. Though many have misread Joyce's prose fiction as literally autobiographical, details of his own life, his family's and those of (mostly) Dublin acquaintances provided a vast mine for the details of his fiction. The realistic foundation that underlies all of Joyce's work (even *Finnegans Wake*) justifies the intense source-searching in which readers and academics have been engaged for the last fifty years and which has resulted in any number of vocabularies and guidebooks. Joyce's letters are a major resource for this kind of work. Knowing that Joyce wrote to his aunt Josephine to ask about details that later he incorporates into *Ulysses* (e.g. 'Is it possible for an ordinary person to climb over the area railings of no 7 Eccles street?') is information directly relevant to the reading experience (*L* I 286). Investigation of Joyce's sources extends to other writers' influences on him – a cultural heritage from which he drew ideas, from Aquinas to Dante through to Ibsen and Dujardin. To Stanislaus in Trieste, Joyce wrote from Rome as he was refashioning *Stephen Hero* into what would become *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*,

My opinion is that if I put down a bucket into my own soul's well, sexual department, I draw up Griffith's and Ibsen's and Skeffington's and Bernard Vaughan's and St. Aloysius' and Shelley's and Renan's water along with my own. And I am going to do that in my novel (inter alia) and plank the bucket down before the shades and substances above mentioned to see how they like it: and if they don't like it I can't help them. (*L* I 129)

An eclectic group, this, precisely because such is the nature of influence.

The letters contribute tremendously to an understanding of the publication history of Joyce's works. *Dubliners*, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young*

Man, *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* all appeared initially in literary periodicals, and Joyce rearranged, added and edited heavily for final publication. Joyce spent at least a decade on each of these, with a goodly proportion of the time dedicated to attempts to get them into print. The evidence of this is in plentiful correspondence with a host of publishers and intermediaries. An outstanding example would be Joyce's letter of 17 August 1911 (*L* II 291–3), the so-called 'Curious History' sent to the editors of many newspapers, recounting his difficulties in finding a publisher for *Dubliners* due to a character's mildly disparaging comments regarding the King of England. Letters to Huebsch, Richards, Pound and especially Weaver detail Joyce's concerns regarding the fidelity of the printed book to his text and his concerns with precise aspects of punctuation and book design.

The letters are valuable resources for Joyce's commentary on the content and appearance of his own work, from the early poems to the final touches on *Finnegans Wake*. Most of the relevant early commentary is in letters to Stanislaus, while most of the later is contained in those addressed to Weaver. As early as 1906, Joyce explains to Stanislaus the metre in 'Sleep Now', asks his advice on the sequence of the poems in *Chamber Music* (*L* II 181) and later hopes that someone will set them to music (*L* II 219). He explains to his brother the meaning of the 'Dublin by Lamplight Laundry' from 'Clay' (*L* II 192). To Weaver he asks that in the setting for the British edition of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* the epigraph from Ovid be placed on a separate page before the text of the novel (*L* II 408) but also sends her long lists and explanations of the structure and vocabulary of the developing *Finnegans Wake* (e.g. *L* III 329–32).

Of the thousands of critical works dealing with Joyce, easily hundreds employ his letters as evidence of one sort or another. Darcy O'Brien, for example, in 1968 identifies Joyce's moral and comic vision as deriving from ambivalence towards sex and employs the 1909 letters to Nora to argue that his morality reconciles the sordid and the beautiful.¹⁹ Textual studies devoted to Joyce, such as Groden's history of Joyce's writing of *Ulysses* make ample use of correspondence both from and to Joyce in establishing dates and authorial intent.²⁰ Joyce's letters provide evidence for those such as Manganiello and Tymoczko who seek to read his works with a consciousness of Irish nationalism or politics.²¹ Naturally, Joyce's letters are essential for biographies of him or related figures.²²

Scholarly use of the unpublished letters has decreased dramatically since the late 1990s. Yet, with only half of Joyce's extant correspondence having been published, substantial source material remains that could be fruitfully investigated. In Joyce's unpublished letters to Weaver at the British Library

is evidence of the interrelationship of his writing and his personal finances: 'The fact of financial support, for Joyce, had symbolic importance; he needed and wanted, along with the money, intelligent and knowledgeable approval of his innovative writing.'²³ Still unpublished letters to Ezra Pound between 1914 and 1917 were resources for the Ellmann biography in recording the progress of *Ulysses*. An investigation of this correspondence to complement Pound's published letters would no doubt yield much regarding the circumstances within which Joyce wrote the novel.²⁴ There are Joyce's still unpublished letters to C. K. Ogden, the linguist and psychologist who wrote an introduction to Joyce's *Tales Told of Shem and Shaun*, oversaw Joyce's recording of 'Anna Livia Plurabelle' and supervised a translation of that piece into Basic English. Some eighteen extant letters to Ogden may address or at least set the context for the translation. The publication of a comprehensive volume or volumes containing the vast quantity of unpublished Joyce letters remains one of the most urgent tasks facing Joyce criticism. The fact that approximately 50 per cent of Joyce's letters cannot be easily consulted or quoted deprives the critic and reader of vital contextual material against which to read his creative works.

Why read Joyce's letters? Simply, because they underlie everything else that he wrote and bring the man to life. For Mary Reynolds, in what remains still the best overview of the experience of reading the letters, they are 'always clear, never padded, always frank and forthright, never written for literary effect or "for posterity"'.²⁵ Joyce characterised himself ironically in a letter to his friend Frank Budgen as having 'a grocer's assistant's mind' (*L* III 304), an accumulator and organiser of detail. Any one letter can mingle an account of a meal with description of the day's writing with complaints about the landlord with an appeal for money. In a survey of critical reaction to the published letters, Richard Peterson and Alan Cohn found that such grounding in the commonplace has separated opinions of the various published compilations of letters into two camps: those who find Joyce boringly mundane, a self-absorbed nitpicker and manipulator who has little to say about anything other than his own life, versus those who find the high-minded artist, dedicated to family and his writing. What relates these two divergent points of view is Joyce's vulnerability: needing money, needing approval, always dependent upon others. His letters display a varied rhetorical style that addresses each correspondent on his or her terms: the familiar but occasionally peremptory tone to Stanislaus, the equally candid but more respectful letters to Weaver, the cocky and bawdy tone of the letters to Budgen, the passionately intense love letters to Nora and the moving and deeply humane late letters to Lucia.

That most of the letters were intended as private communications in no way narrows them for the general reader. The range of voices and the vivid detail of their stories and requests and complaints and outbursts and appeals are the bricks and mortar of his formal work. The allusions, puns, digressions, voices and, most of all, humour of the letters offer the reader almost as much as the 'scrupulous meanness' (L II 134) of *Dubliners* or the gargantuan prose of *Finnegans Wake*.

COLLECTIONS OF JOYCE'S LETTERS

Some forty letters from Joyce to Grant Richards are at Harvard's Houghton Library, the earliest institution to collect Joyce. Yale's Beinecke Library holds correspondence related to Joyce collected in the 1940s by bibliographer John Slocum, including over two hundred letters from Joyce to a variety of correspondents such as Frank Budgen, Grant Richards and Claud Sykes, typed copies of letters to Harriet Weaver and hundreds of pieces of correspondence addressed to Joyce. The University at Buffalo holds over two hundred letters to Sylvia Beach – mostly acquired from her in 1959 – and a quantity of correspondence to B. W. Huebsch and others. In 1957 Cornell University acquired from Stanislaus Joyce's widow a substantial collection of correspondence including over three hundred letters, postcards and telegrams written by Joyce and nearly a thousand pieces of correspondence addressed to him from family, friends and associates. In 1962 the British Museum (now Library) acquired an important bequest from Harriet Shaw Weaver including over six hundred pieces of correspondence addressed to her from Joyce along with a large quantity of related letters. Southern Illinois University at Carbondale holds over one hundred letters to Joyce's agents James (and later Eric) Pinker, and a large number of transcriptions of letters to various correspondents prepared for the use of Herbert Gorman in the writing of his biography, most acquired in the 1950s from collector Harley Croessman. The Léon collection at the National Library of Ireland has over two hundred of Joyce's letters to Léon and others as well as hundreds addressed to Joyce. The Richard Ellmann collection at the University of Tulsa holds many transcriptions, excerpts and notes taken from Joyce's letters. The Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas has acquired over two hundred Joyce letters in a number of collections since the 1950s. The New York Public Library holds over one hundred letters acquired at various times in the John Quinn Memorial Collection and in the Berg Collection. *The Joyce Calendar* provides an extensive listing of the holdings of forty-one repositories and the published guides to their collections.

Ellmann provided what remains the most complete listing of private owners (*L* II xxxiv), though some of these collections have, in the meantime, passed into the hands of publicly accessible institutions. Joyce's letters continue to surface frequently in the rare book and manuscript trade. Important collections may remain in private hands, as signalled by tantalising recent discoveries. The daughter-in-law of Stanislaus Joyce put up for auction in 2004 a small but important collection, including substantial letters from Stanislaus and Francis Sheehy Skeffington to James and a letter to Nora that apparently complements the 1909 series. And in 2006, Hans Jahnke, stepson of Giorgio Joyce, gave to the Zurich James Joyce Foundation a trunk of letters to and from Joyce that had been retained relatively untouched for decades, including some eighty-four letters and postcards written by Joyce. The *James Joyce Quarterly's* 'Current JJ Checklist' provides updates on the appearance of letters in dealers' and auction catalogues.

NOTES

1. Lucie Noel, *James Joyce and Paul L. Léon: The Story of a Friendship* (New York: Gotham Book Mart, 1950), p. 63.
2. Calls for a new compilation of Joyce's correspondence included Ira B. Nadel, 'Aspern Revisited: The Frustrated Search for Joyce's Papers and Letters', *Irish Literary Supplement* 8.1 (1989): 8–9; David Hayman, 'A Case for the Re-Edition of the Letters', *James Joyce Literary Supplement* 4.1 (1990): 24; Mary T. Reynolds' review of Fahy, *The James Joyce/Paul Léon Papers in the National Library of Ireland*, 1992, *JJQ* 30.1 (1992): 121–4.
3. Among the most eloquent of the critics was Senator David Norris speaking to the Irish parliament in 'National Library bequest', *Diospóireachtaí parlaiminte: tuairisc oifigiúil – neamhcheartaithe* = *Parliamentary Debates: Official Report – Unrevised* 132, no. 5 (9 Apr. 1992), pp. 542–52.
4. Current copyright law restricts use of Joyce's unpublished material until 2012 in the United States and 2040 in the United Kingdom. *James Joyce: Copyright, Fair Use, and Permissions FAQ* <http://english.osu.edu/research/organizations/ijjf/copyrightfaqs.cfm>.
5. *JJQ* 32.1 (1994): 156.
6. Robert Spoo, 'Introduction: Injuries, Remedies, Moral Rights, and the Public Domain', *JJQ* 37.3–4 (2000): 333–65.
7. William S. Brockman, 'Jacob Schwartz – "The Fly in the Honey"', *JSA* 9 (1998): 174–90.
8. Herbert Gorman, *James Joyce* (New York and Toronto: Farrar & Rinehart, 1939).
9. Much of the present essay's summary of the publication history of *L* I is taken from Ira Nadel, 'Unriddling the Writing: The *Letters of James Joyce*, Volume I', *JSA* 3 (1992): 77–97.

10. *Ibid.*: 96.
11. Richard Ellmann to Ottocaro Weiss, 2 Nov. 1956, Box 192, Richard Ellmann Papers, University of Tulsa.
12. Richard Ellmann to Peter du Sautoy, 21 May 1964, Box 12, Richard Ellmann Papers, University of Tulsa.
13. Hélène Berger (later Cixous) quotes from and argues for the 1909 letters as source material for *Ulysses*' 'Circe' episode in 'Portrait de sa femme par l'artiste', *Les lettres nouvelles* (March–Apr. 1966): 41–67.
14. Richard B. Watson and Randolph Lewis, *The Joyce Calendar: A Chronological Listing of Published, Unpublished and Ungathered Correspondence by James Joyce* (Austin: JSA, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, 1994), pp. 8–15.
15. Donald H. Reiman, *The Study of Modern Manuscripts: Public, Confidential, and Private* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), pp. 80–1.
16. Michael Patrick Gillespie, 'The Papers of James Joyce: Ethical Questions for Textually Ambivalent Critics', *New Hibernia Review* 2.4 (1998): 112.
17. Joseph Kelly, *Our Joyce: From Outcast to Icon* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), documents the evolving perspectives on Joyce through the decades.
18. Ira B. Nadel, 'The Incomplete Joyce', *JSA* 2 (1991): 91.
19. Darcy O'Brien, *The Conscience of James Joyce* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), pp. 35–69.
20. Michael Groden, *'Ulysses' in Progress* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).
21. Dominic Manganiello, *Joyce's Politics* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980); Maria Tymoczko, *The Irish Ulysses* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994).
22. *JJ* remains a standard, though an intriguing counter-example is Peter Costello, *James Joyce: The Years of Growth, 1882–1915* (London: Kyle Cathie Limited, 1992), which seeks to avoid dependence upon Ellmann's biography by use of other sources, especially letters.
23. Mary T. Reynolds, 'Joyce and Miss Weaver', *JJQ* 19.4 (1982): 395.
24. *PJ*.
25. Mary Reynolds, 'Joyce as a Letter Writer', in Bowen Zack and James F. Carens, eds., *A Companion to Joyce Studies* (Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press, 1984), p. 39.

PART II

Theory and critical reception

*Genre, place and value: Joyce's reception, 1904–1941**John Nash*

Joyce's obituary in *The Times* (London, 14 January 1941) was so grudging that it seems a wonder they bothered to give his death notice at all. T. S. Eliot's passionate response to that august newspaper was to declare Joyce 'the greatest man of letters of my generation' and *Ulysses* 'the most considerable work of imagination in English in our time' (CH II 757–8). *The Times*, however, did not print Eliot's letter of complaint; that was left to the important, and new, literary periodical *Horizon*. This brief squabble suggests something of the divergence of views met with by Joyce's work in his lifetime: its appreciation – even, for some, devotion – among other young, modern writers and their readership, and its rejection by an 'older literary generation' (CH II 757) whose opinions had been cited by the traditionalist obituary writer. Yet the generational division implied by Eliot, between young radicals and older conservatives, only partially explains Joyce's estrangement from such institutions as *The Times*. After all, Eliot himself, in the early 1940s, was well on the way to becoming a powerful voice of the literary establishment, something like that 'man of letters' he found in Joyce. In this respect, it is telling that Joyce had been 'striving heroically not to be' a 'man of letters', disliking its implications of a pompous and amateurish attitude (MBK 205). The phrase implies the sort of cultural centrality that Joyce could never – and never wanted to – presume. Eliot's championing of Joyce was well-meant, of course, but it was written in terms, and from a point of view, that Joyce himself may well have shirked (as indeed was his review of *Ulysses*, discussed below). Nor was Eliot alone in reading Joyce according to his own tastes. A narrative of Joyce's complex reception during his own lifetime therefore contends with various 'appropriations' of his work and with the shifting cultural factors by which that work was read.

It is instructive that the reception of Joyce's writing in his own lifetime should have so closely associated the issues of genre, place and value. As the first part of this essay will argue, these issues, though of course different,

were often inseparable from one another in the formation of Joyce's formidable critical reputation. The essay will go on to address the key issues of reading *Ulysses* in the 1920s and the question of the readership for Joyce's later work.

I

Any account of the early critical reception of Joyce's work must itself be in part influenced by the context in which it is written. It is not only due to the brilliance of Ezra Pound that he features prominently in this essay but also due to the institutionalization of literary study, and the concomitant creation of a certain idea of modernism (partially shaped by Pound), which easily accommodated his version of Joyce. By the same token, an essay such as this twenty years ago might not have given much space to, for example, the critical opinion of John Eglinton. It is partly due to the work of recent critics who have more fully situated Joyce within his Irish and local contexts that those such as Eglinton appear more important to us today.

That Joyce was a non-religious Catholic Dubliner of the urban lower middle class at the turn of the twentieth century did influence the way his early work was received in Ireland and Britain. For one, it made it more difficult for him to be accepted in certain circles without the imprimatur of Yeats or Pound. In addition, it offered a context in which to read *Dubliners* and *A Portrait*. As this suggests, some reviewers found it difficult to get beyond Joyce's background; for others, like Pound, it was something that must be surpassed at all costs. When Pound declared in 1914, in his review of *Dubliners* for the new and experimental *Egoist*, that 'it is surprising Mr. Joyce is Irish', he was not only aiming a calculated insult at Irish literature but also asserting that his writing bore an 'international standard' (CH 1 67). In doing so, Pound began his long, public co-option of Joyce as an 'international' writer rather than an Irish one. While Pound in turns asserted Joyce's realism and his modernism, he consistently depicted Joyce as a writer who had successfully shed his upbringing. Pound could never reconcile Joyce as he thought he knew him – the emigrant, the speaker of several languages, the writer of formally challenging prose – with what he saw as Joyce's provincial background. The debates within Catholicism and nationalism with which Joyce had grown up and from which he learnt much were to Pound alien, irrelevant and backward. Joyce indeed sought a certain cosmopolitanism (which he found in Trieste and Paris) but he did so from within a context to which Pound paid no attention.

Yet, prior to Pound's interest in him, Joyce's reception had been a more local affair, and the importance of place to his work was often emphasised. The *Times Literary Supplement* reviewer suggested that readers needed to be familiar with Dublin customs; the *Athenaeum* reviewer noted the exactness of 'certain sides ... of Dublin' (CH I 61), a point echoed in *Everyman*; and the *Academy* reviewer praised the clarity of writing and noted 'we feel Dublin about us as we read' (CH I 65). In this context, Pound's opinion that Joyce's stories 'could be retold of any town' went against the grain of contemporary reviews. His claims for Joyce's method – that he wrote with a 'rigorous selection' (CH I 68) in the manner of Flaubert – were not entirely new since the *Athenaeum* had declared the stories 'nothing if not naturalistic' (CH I 61) and others had compared Joyce with his compatriot, George Moore. Nonetheless, it was Pound who most insistently argued over the following years that Joyce was a realist whose great influence was Flaubert. Indeed, when, a few years later, Joyce's writing developed another direction, Pound found it difficult to follow and regretted Joyce's departure from his 'Flaubertian' model.

Pound's insistence on what he saw as the particular aesthetic contribution of Joyce was directly related to his politicised neglect of Joyce's Irishness. Joyce's value, argued Pound (and many others since), was in the economy of his writing. Pound seems to have valued Joyce's 'style' above all but its relation to what he called Joyce's 'realism' is not clear. Reviewing *Dubliners* in 1914, he asserted bluntly that Joyce 'is a realist' which appears to mean that he describes 'the thing as it is' without shaping narrative to suit convention. However, reviewing *A Portrait* three years later, Pound appeared to distinguish between 'the actual writing' or 'style' on the one hand, and 'Joyce's realism – the school-life, the life in the University, the family dinner' (Pf 90) on the other hand. By first linking Joyce's realism with his narrative and style and then later linking it with his subject matter, Pound moves between different senses of realism. The former would prove more enduring for him as it enables the claim that Joyce transcends place. Pound's terminology may have been inconsistent, or confused, but his promotion of Joyce's value was, in this early period, unwavering.

In Pound's terms, Joyce's masculinist 'clear hard prose' (CH I 66) had a functional, utilitarian association which, in wartime, was seen as 'the safeguard' of civilisation (CH I 84). In contrast, Pound derides the Irish Literary Revival of Yeats, Augusta (Lady) Gregory and Synge, among others, as 'Celtic imagination (or "phantasy" as I think they now call it) flopping about'. Against this, 'Joyce defines. He is not an institution for the promotion of Irish peasant industries' (CH I 67). Hence Pound's appropriation of Joyce as a quasi-Imagist

is also a directly political reading of Joyce as European and 'modern' rather than Irish and 'peasant'. Pound's readings of Joyce's early stories and *Portrait* set the standard by which Pound himself by and large continued to read Joyce even as his writing changed (and his caricature of the Revival contributed to the continuing misreading of it). Pound's creation of a literary history that ran from Flaubert to Joyce – uncoupled from his increasingly anti-democratic politics – would have an important influence on the history of Joyce criticism which subsequently, in the 1950s and 1960s under the influence of such American critics as Hugh Kenner (a supporter and friend of Pound), found in Joyce a denationalised, modernist émigré. Pound's interpretation of Joyce may be found by many today to be severely limited but it was hugely important in, and indicative of, the 'canonisation' of Joyce.

If Pound's early reading of Joyce's stories established a link between genre, place and value it did so by asserting the importance of viewing their (apparent) dislocation from Dublin. The relationship between genre and place was crucial here: for Pound, Joyce's writing was new and interesting precisely because it appeared not to be from, or definitively locatable in, any place, especially one that he associated with fantasy, the imagination and 'peasant industries'. This very placelessness of Joyce's writing made it for Pound more 'universal' (CH I 67) – a term that would be one of the major blocks upon which Joyce's reputation was constructed in the formalist and liberal atmosphere of college 'Eng. Lit.' seminars. Joyce might see the 'things' about him but he penetrated to their 'universal' quality.

Pound's ideas found an echo – or at least a support – in some newspaper reviews closer to home: for instance, the *Freeman's Journal*, at that time populist and anti-Parnellite, was loathe to claim Joyce (CH I 98). However, many others at the time argued for the significance of place to understanding Joyce. The English Edwardian novelist H. G. Wells, reviewing *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* in 1917, saw that Joyce's novel emphasised the political differences between what he depicted as nationalist Ireland and liberal England. The emergence of a newly university-educated Catholic middle class that this novel traces was noted by Francis Hackett in his American, progressive 'little magazine', *New Republic* (CH I 95), and became a theme of later Irish readings of Joyce by Eglinton and others.

II

Given its remarkable history of publication, the reception of *Ulysses* was beset by particular oddities. Its initial publication, in part, in the *Little Review*, enabled readers to form some sense of the book and to begin the

process of its reception prior to its publication in book form in Paris on Joyce's birthday in 1922. The ban on importing it into the United States and United Kingdom meant that for most of the decade it was reviewed but officially unavailable in those countries, although several copies were purchased and circulated. A further complication in the early reception of *Ulysses* was the interest that Joyce himself took in directing influential accounts of his book. He did this through contact with specific individuals such as Valéry Larbaud and via the flyers containing press notices and reviews that were circulated (for instance with subscription forms, even prior to publication of the first edition). The combination of these factors – a lengthened, international process of publication and reviewing; a rather heavy-handed and impractical governmental censorship; Joyce's own contribution to his reception as well as the not unrelated writing of 'Work in Progress' – have helped ensure that the history of reading his work in the 1920s is an intriguing and complex one.

In his introduction to the useful *Critical Heritage* anthology, Robert H. Deming offers a sort of canon of reviews of *Ulysses*, citing the most important as those by Larbaud, Pound and T. S. Eliot (in that order). Indeed these did help set many of the terms of critical debate, with Larbaud promoting Joyce's subtle 'interior monologue', Pound praising its realism and Eliot holding it up as a model for contemporary literature to overcome the 'anarchy' of the contemporary world. Alongside these, however, it is also necessary to consider other readings, such as those from Ireland which have echoed in more recent work, and some openly hostile criticism which makes it possible to understand more fully the role of Joyce in 1920s and 1930s literary culture.

Larbaud's essay in particular is a sympathetic and knowledgeable account of Joyce's developing aesthetic. It is characteristic of the complexity of Joyce's reception that this essay was first read to an audience *prior* to the publication of the first edition and that Larbaud had benefited from significant guidance by Joyce. Pound refused to attend this lecture; it is notable that as Joyce grew both more famous and even more adventurous in his writing, Pound's interest in him cooled. Larbaud's great contribution to reading *Ulysses* is generally regarded as his emphasis on epical allusions. The assistance Larbaud had received included Joyce's provision of his 'schema' for the book so that he might 'confuse the audience a little more' (JJ 519). The schema was not made public until 1931 when Stuart Gilbert based his study around it (see below). Having been granted this access, it is not surprising that Larbaud should emphasise it: he intriguingly refers to 'a design, a plan' which the attentive reader must surely discover, and even 'the

key', which he says lies in the title. (Arnold Bennett would later argue that, had Larbaud not seen the schema, he would suggest Joyce was 'pulling [his] leg' (CH I 220).) The 'cultivated reader' must approach *Ulysses* with the *Odyssey* 'in mind' or be thrown into 'dismay' (CH I 258), Larbaud argues, although it was not until the release of Gilbert's explication of this idea that it was followed through in detail.

In appealing to a *type* of reader, Larbaud also became one of the key voices in an emerging critical debate that still continues: what was the readership of Joyce's later work? Who could be expected to read it? His distinction between 'cultivated' and 'uncultivated' readers echoes in many responses to Joyce in this period. Sisley Huddleston's review in *The Observer* was crucial to the notoriety of *Ulysses* in England: after it many requests for copies came through to Sylvia Beach in Paris. A key theme in Huddleston's argument is that *Ulysses* cannot 'be given to the public' (CH I 214) but was suitable for 'littérateurs' (213), exemplifying a contemporary recognition – or creation – of the so-called 'great divide' between high modernist literature and popular culture. Huddleston's piece itself seems similarly torn: his use of the term 'monologue intérieur' shows the influence of Larbaud's discussion while at the same time his claim that 'sex' is a 'preponderant' feature of the book seems unduly sensationalist. Perhaps these divergent critical impulses come together in the suggestion that 'its very obscenity is somehow beautiful' (216). This dichotomy in the critical reception is at one with the bans imposed by US and UK governments: for although it was both prevented from importation, sale or publication, certain exceptions were made.

Larbaud made other notable points, especially in his emphasis on the humanity of the book and its stylistic virtuosity. Rather than deter his listeners (and later readers) with complicated Homeric correspondences, he stressed the ways in which Joyce had 'made *Ulysses* his own contemporary' (CH I 260) by imagining him 'in Dublin, in our time' (CH I 261). Odysseus is seen as the most 'completely human' (CH I 260) of epic heroes, and by extension Joyce has formulated in Bloom his 'human, comic and pathetic' aspect (CH I 261). When Pound called Bloom 'the basis of democracy' he said a similar thing with different political emphasis (*PJ* 194). Larbaud's insistence on 'the humanity of [Joyce's] characters' would leave a lasting impression despite the reputation of 'modernism' for undoing such 'traditional' pieties. On the other hand, Larbaud warns against a reliance upon the *Odyssey* if that means *Ulysses* is no longer 'disconcerting or shocking' (CH I 260). To that end, Larbaud emphasised the 'interior monologues' (CH I 262) – a phrase which Joyce found so helpful as a critical tool that he even asked Eliot to coin a similar phrase (*SL* 297). He also began to

recognise the extent to which *Ulysses* offers a radical kaleidoscope of styles that was disconcerting even to many of Joyce's followers (including Pound and his brother Stanislaus). It was this array of styles, later celebrated by many critics, that several reviewers considered 'undirected' (Bennett, *CH* I 219) and a deliberate 'bamboozlement' of the reader (Shane Leslie, *CH* I 210).

Pound's reading of *Ulysses*, by and large, continued to represent Joyce as a Flaubertian 'realist' but it does introduce a new political slant in Pound's attack on post-war democracies. Where Pound did veer from his earlier readings was in his attempt to co-opt Joyce to his own political agenda. As Brooker points out, Pound's review of *Ulysses* is in part a formulation of his own dismay at contemporary society.¹ Eliot also responded politically – but his is a more codified, subtle politics. Eliot builds on Larbaud's introduction to the Homeric allusions by developing his own, now well-known, theory of the 'mythical method' (*CH* I 271). Going further also than Pound's notion of the form as a 'scaffold taken from Homer' (*CH* I 264), Eliot proposes that Joyce shows a 'continuous parallel between contemporaneity and antiquity' (*CH* I 270). When Eliot famously declares that *Ulysses* is a way of 'controlling, of ordering ... the immense panorama of futility and anarchy that is contemporary history' there is little doubt on which side of the 'parallel' his favours fall. He echoes Pound's more forthright denigration of democracy and offers in its place a 'control' and 'order' associated with 'classicism' (*CH* I 269). Yet the power of *Ulysses* to shock, as Larbaud noted, was resonant with many readers and Eliot too was also disturbed by Joyce: *Ulysses* was not easily made to fit the Eliotic idea of tradition, and he worked for some months on this review (it was not published until late 1923). Early in the piece, Eliot admits that the book has caused him 'terror' (*CH* I 270) and one may fairly take him at his word as he does not feel able, it appears, to open it again: Eliot neglects to quote or cite any example from *Ulysses*. This aversion to the textual and historical particularity of *Ulysses* masks a general political unease with Joyce and Ireland on behalf of Pound and Eliot. Indeed, the extent to which Joyce later became known as an apolitical writer in the 1940s to 1960s is testament to the loss, or containment, of that disturbance caused by Joyce in the 1920s: re-reading him in the light of that time, according to those who criticised as well as praised, is an instructive critical exercise. A number of responses, notably by Irish commentators, were quicker to attempt to frame Joyce historically. As Ernest Boyd put it, 'Irish criticism is much more impressed by its simple realism' (*CH* II 622).

The Irish context for his reception also continued to concern Joyce: he was pleased to have Yeats' public support even if it was qualified.² Joyce's background lent a particular edge to some reviews by compatriots and it is evident

that *Ulysses*, published only weeks after ratification of the 1921–2 Treaty of Independence, could not help but be read in this political context, not only by those Irish readers but by some English ones as well. For Shane Leslie, *Ulysses* was not only an offence against good taste, and specifically against Catholicism, but also a violent attack on the English canon, a ‘Clerkenwell explosion in the ... classical prison of English literature’ (CH I 211). In *The Dial*, John Eglinton (pseudonym of W. K. Magee) partially echoed Leslie, calling it a ‘masterpiece’ and ‘a violent interruption of the movement known as the Irish Literary Renaissance’.³ Indeed Eglinton implies an analogy between the ‘monstrous explosion’ that recently blew up the Archives office and Joyce’s own ‘violent interruption’. These comments – with their overtones of direct political action – suggest that Joyce’s work was itself a politically violent and potentially decisive moment in Irish social as well as literary history. In later years Eglinton deepened this characterisation of Joyce. In 1929, with literary opinion across Europe asserting Joyce’s importance, Eglinton argued that his significance lay in a more local, political sense: with Joyce, he argued, ‘the mind of Catholic Ireland triumphs over the Anglicism of the English language’ (CH II 459). Exposure to Joyce’s re-writing of English in ‘Work in Progress’ allowed similar re-readings of *Ulysses*.

In their ‘letters’ from Dublin to a British and American potential readership, Eglinton and Joseph Hone (writing in *London Mercury*) presented Joyce as the first decolonised Irish writer, a by-product of what Hone called ‘Catholic democracy in Ireland’ (CH I 298). Hone’s analysis of Joyce at the beginning of 1923 is acute: despite his distaste for Joyce’s ‘struggle for freedom’, he sees the importance of his books as ‘social documents’ expressed with ‘perfect freedom’ (CH I 297–9). This combination of Catholicism and freedom was a seeming paradox to a number of Joyce’s reviewers and to the Irish literary establishment, a ‘paradox’ that sparked the use of Joyce’s name in the forthcoming censorship debates in the late 1920s. The association made by Eglinton and Hone between Joyce and the new independent and Catholic-dominated state was necessarily more complex because Joyce’s emigration and scepticism (both national and religious) meant that no easy cultural correlation could be drawn. Indeed, Eglinton appears to recognise this when he says that ‘it would be advantageous for the critical comprehension of Joyce ... that a country should be found for him’ (CH II 459). Despite his hostility to Joyce, Eglinton was among the first critics to write about Joyce’s work in this way, at a time when Pound’s version of Joyce as utterly disconnected from Ireland was setting the dominant model for future generations of critics. Eglinton’s reading of Joyce may be most significant for what it implies rather than for what it directly states: that Joyce’s writing

represented a momentous challenge to the Anglo-Irish domination of Ireland's cultural and political life. As such, Eglinton offers an uncanny earlier version of what later critics, writing from a very different perspective, see as Joyce's critique of colonial rule.

Joyce paid particular interest to the critical reception of *Ulysses*, keen that it should be promoted in prestigious journals even if the reviews were not generous (as with Shane Leslie's piece in the *Quarterly Review*). Joyce even echoed and replied to some critics, including Leslie, in his new 'Work in Progress'.⁴ It is possible to see Joyce's writing as not only closely entwined with its own reception but also as engaging directly in contemporary critical debates about the specialisation of reading and the division between serious literary culture and popular culture. The early reception of *Ulysses* contributed to a more general discourse over literary readership, specifically the fear that an 'elite' readership was now permanently divorced from a putative 'reading public'.⁵ Furthermore, this theme emerges as one of the key and ongoing debates within Joyce studies: that is, the tension between claims that his texts are 'unreadable' (a criticism that later becomes a celebration of 'subversive' quality) and critics' attempts to render them readily accessible. This tension informs the responses of Larbaud and Bennett, and is implied by those of Pound and Eliot. Others too were explicit in parading the seeming paradox. Writing in the *New York Times* in 1922, Joseph Collins (another review that Joyce drew on in composing 'Work in Progress') claimed that *Ulysses* should be 'companied with a key and a glossary like the Berlitz books' (CH I 222). It is notable that these comments often accompanied grand claims on behalf of the novel (and the critic): '*Ulysses* is the most important contribution that has been made to fictional literature in the twentieth century' says Collins (CH I 223).

When *Ulysses* was re-released to the public in 1934, Judge Woolsey, in lifting the censorship, explained his decision in terms that drew directly on this critical debate. In his finding that *Ulysses* forms 'a new literary method', Woolsey echoes Eliot and others; in claiming that the litmus test of reception is 'the normal person' (and in the explanation that 'it is advisable' to read books about *Ulysses* in order to understand it), he echoes Bennett and others in their defence of the 'ordinary reader'.⁶ Attempts were made to bridge the apparent gulf: Charles Duff released his *Short James Joyce and the Plain Reader* in 1932 and, in 1934, the *Saturday Review of Literature* published a two-page advertising spread on 'How to enjoy James Joyce's great novel *Ulysses*', complete with brief accounts of characters, episodes, map of Dublin, associations with *The Odyssey* and critics' comments. Such overtures to ordinary readers tended only to underline the distinction they sought to overcome.

A secondary feature of the critical debate over Joyce's readership was a distinction between those who emphasised 'technique' and those whose emphasis was more down-to-earth. An interesting version of this played out in the books written by Joyce's friends Stuart Gilbert and Frank Budgen. Writing in 1930, Gilbert was keen to ensure that *Ulysses* be taken seriously (its status still under threat by censorship and misunderstanding). As with Larbaud, he was armed with Joyce's schema for *Ulysses*, from which he painstakingly delineated details of Homeric allusions to support his argument that '[t]he meaning of *Ulysses* is ... implicit in the technique ... in the nuances of language ... in the thousand and one correspondences'.⁷ In 1934, Budgen took a biographical approach, mixing reminiscence, reported conversations and a more mundane interest in the character and action of the book, writing in support of its 'humane scepticism'.⁸ Perhaps it was this combination of appeals to the 'literary' method and the 'humane' action that overcame the scepticism of serious challenges such as those by F. R. Leavis who decried Joyce's lack of 'deeply serious purpose'.⁹ Leavis sought to maintain the 'organic' quality of the English language and found Joyce too 'mechanical'. His argument referred mainly to 'Work in Progress', whose challenge to the kind of English and Englishness that Leavis promoted has helped ensure the continuing appeal of Joyce's last work.

Both Budgen and Gilbert received substantial help from Joyce. Indeed, early in 1923, Joyce had noted the extent to which reviewers' responses to *Ulysses* relied upon suggestions that he himself had made (*L* III, 74). With Joyce's last work this problem was even more exacerbated. A measure of the extent to which Joyce playfully engaged with it can be seen from his involvement with *Our Exagmination*. This volume did much to set the means by which Joyce's most challenging work could be read and promoted. Indeed, it was the appearance of this, along with the pamphlet release of *Anna Livia Plurabelle* in the same year that did most to shift critical opinion towards the 'legitimacy' of 'Work in Progress'. This collection of twelve essays written by supporters (including Budgen and Gilbert, along with a young Samuel Beckett and others) was conceived by Joyce as a means of 'setting the scene' for reviewers. As several contributors admitted, Joyce prompted and marshalled many of the essays. Among them, Beckett launched the Viconian roundabout that has become a staple of *Wake* criticism; William Carlos Williams introduced Joyce to a suspecting American audience; and John Rodker argued that Joyce was 'revitalising' the language but bemoaned readers' 'inadequacy'. Joyce, however, shied away from such pronouncements. Indeed, his decision to include two 'letters of protest' at the end of the volume suggest a more realistic acceptance of readers' difficulties. In essence, this

volume encapsulates many of the points made elsewhere about 'Work in Progress', including objections to it. That it was published in 1929 (ten years prior to the book publication of *Finnegans Wake*) says much about the complicated chronology of Joyce's reception and his own engagement with critical debate. What emerges from even a cursory history of Joyce's early reception, then, is the extent to which questions of reception – how to read and who would read – were themselves already features not only of Joyce's self-reflexive writing but of the critical discourse itself.

NOTES

1. See Joseph Brooker, *Joyce's Critics: Transitions in Reading and Culture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), pp. 39–42.
2. On Joyce's reception in Ireland and his own engagement with it, see John Nash, *James Joyce and the Act of Reception: Reading, Ireland, Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
3. John Eglinton, 'Dublin Letter', *The Dial*, 73 (October 1922).
4. See Ingeborg Landuyt, 'Joyce Reading Himself and Others', in John Nash, ed., *Joyce's Audiences* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), pp. 141–52.
5. See Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986); and Lawrence S. Rainey, *Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).
6. See 'The Monumental Decision ... by Hon. John M. Woolsey Lifting the Ban on *Ulysses*', prefatory material to *Ulysses* (New York: Random House, 1961), pp. ix–xiv.
7. Stuart Gilbert, *James Joyce's 'Ulysses': A Study* [1930] (New York: Vintage, 1955), p. 8.
8. Frank Budgen, *James Joyce and the Making of 'Ulysses', and Other Writings* [1934] (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 73.
9. F. R. Leavis, 'Joyce and the "Revolution of the Word"', *Scrutiny* 2.2 (Sept. 1933): 197.

CHAPTER 5

Post-war Joyce

Joseph Brooker

The day JFK was shot, a living James Joyce would have been eighty-one. The idea is not unthinkable. When Ezra Pound died, men had walked on the moon and the Beatles were pursuing solo careers. But Joyce never entered the image-repertoire of that later world. His life would remain definitive of an earlier landscape. His death, hard by those of W. B. Yeats (1939) and Virginia Woolf (1941), helps us to believe we know where to draw modernism's black border.

Yet there is so much post-war Joyce: more post-war than pre-war. If Joyce had a full life, his afterlife overflows. He seems to have turned up everywhere, on multiple continents, in countless cities. In his physical absence, his presence as idea, image, generative text, has only enlarged. A prevalent image for this is ghostliness. Seamus Heaney and Jacques Derrida have both talked of Joyce this way.¹ Still, the ghost does not seem quite the right figure for Joyce's afterlife. It is too evanescent, wayward, elusive. Post-war Joyce has been not a fleeting spirit but a relentless resident. He has taken over careers, conferences, departments, budgets, publishers' lists. If an ethereal image fits the Joyce Industry, it is not the slippery, solitary spook, but the heavenly bureaucracy envisaged in Powell and Pressburger's *A Matter of Life and Death* (1946), in which squadrons of angels track the credentials of new arrivals. It is the beginnings of this edifice that this essay will describe.

PLANETARY DISTANCES

Post-war Joyce begins with wartime Joyce. For the first enduring academic book was written in 1941. Aged only twenty-seven, Harry Levin (1912–94) had published a review of the completed *Finnegans Wake*, perceptive enough to be recognised by Joyce himself. That recognition won Levin the slot on Joyce in a new series of introductory monographs, *The Makers of Modern Literature*. Levin had originally expected the commission to be some way off, but once his subject was dead he was fit to be discussed.² The

book's genesis makes it a sombre parable of the academic response to modernism, as though the latter could only begin to generate exegesis and scholarly respectability once the life had finally gone out of it. Already in the first Faber & Faber Preface, Levin writes that 'Meanwhile, in the wider world, the pace of events has so accelerated that we have already begun to look back on his work as upon the legacy of an earlier period', and that this makes it 'the proper occasion for a full critical appraisal'.³ 'The pace of events' seems an oblique reference to the onset, since the publication of Joyce's last work, of World War II; in a later Preface Levin again somewhat coyly mentions 'circumstances of general distraction which – as I see now – have left their imprint upon these pages'.⁴ Joyce's reception in the American academy thus begins with the sense of an ending. The war, among its other and more significant effects, calls a final halt to the era of modernism, which is at last ready for wholesale recuperation.

Bernard McGinley's claim that '[w]ith the Second World War, International Modernism lost whatever coherence it had had' is therefore a half-truth.⁵ While the writers themselves were indeed depleted and scattered at this point, at another level international modernism only *gains* its coherence in mid-century. Levin is aware of an artistic migration 'from Bohemia to Academe',⁶ and this journey is aided by his own literary accomplishment. Control, balance, aesthetic achievement are qualities which he both discerns in Joyce and displays in his own text. The book is structured, like *Ulysses*, around blocks of three chapters: the final section, 'Richness', answers the first, 'Reality'. Levin's well-weighed sentences partake of the same drive towards elegant balance, conspicuously measuring and offsetting clauses: 'Since Joyce lived to write, though he never wrote for a living, he went on writing to please himself, with an almost paranoid disregard of any reader.'⁷ Chiasmus and ironic inversion flow thick and fast: 'Bloom is an exile in Dublin, as Stephen is a Dubliner in exile'; 'Stephen starts as an individual and becomes a type. Bloom starts as a type and becomes an individual.'⁸ Well-wrought form speaks as eloquently as its content: Levin's cool, wryly detached discourse on Joyce is itself a sign of the work's arrival at respectability. The texture of Levin's book is eloquent to the second power, ceaselessly proclaiming over and above its actual content that Joyce and the academy hold no fears for one another.

Levin's approach is unmistakably cosmopolitan. He gives Joyce a strongly European context, gesturing extravagantly at the names of Ibsen, Dostoevsky or Nietzsche. In the late 1950s Lionel Trilling would write a famous essay, 'On the Teaching of Modern Literature', based on his groundbreaking course at Columbia University.⁹ The company Trilling describes – rarefied, international, intellectual, stark in outlook – is much akin to the European

canon in which Levin places Joyce. One effect of this was sought by most other defenders of Joyce: the legitimation of his work by its place in a tradition. More specifically, Levin follows Edmund Wilson, who had viewed his modernists as the heirs to French symbolism and affirmed that 'the work of these writers is the result of a literary revolution which occurred outside English literature'.¹⁰

Levin's Joyce is emphatically modern. The style of *Ulysses* fuses 'the *montage* of the cinema, impressionism in painting, *leitmotif* in music, the free association of psychoanalysis, and vitalism in philosophy'. Joyce's writing articulates the themes and forms of the twentieth century: Leopold Bloom's mind is 'a motion picture, which has been ingeniously cut and carefully edited to emphasize the close-ups and fade-outs of flickering emotion, the angles of observation and the flashbacks of reminiscence'.¹¹ Yet the twentieth century, for Levin, is an epoch of *anomie*, alienation, 'cultural disintegration', 'the parched life of the metropolitan *Waste Land*'.¹² His *Ulysses* is more tragic than comic. 'Ithaca', where the characters are contemplated 'from the scope of planetary distances',¹³ marks the true emotional centre of the book. 'Further wanderings can only bring further sufferings': the 17th of June promises a paralysing repetition of this book 'totally lacking in the epic virtues of love, friendship, and magnanimity'.¹⁴ All of this elaborates Levin's central dialectic between 'the city and the artist', whose relation today is 'all the more poignant because it is so slight'.¹⁵

The comparativist Levin is no stereotypical New Critic. Yet his sense of history in this work remains general, a matter of broad strokes rather than local details. For all his sociological seriousness, he partly enacts the move from particular to generality that T. S. Eliot had adumbrated two decades earlier. His claim that Joyce 'rediscovered in ancient myth an archetype for modern man'¹⁶ suffers from one archetype too many: 'modern man', so broadly conceived, is as abstract as the myth supposed to give him weight. The Eliotic aesthetic of abstraction subordinates locality and texture to planetary distance and allegorical structure. What Stephen Dedalus calls kinesis loses out to stasis. In *Ulysses* Joyce, even in the heat of practical experiments, remains true to his classical theories. His sense of movement is all on the surface. His underlying purpose is to call a halt, to achieve a stasis, to set up an immovable object against the irresistible forces of the city.¹⁷ Levin's rhetoric, and his Joyce, seek stillness. But his book did not call a halt, so much as start a race.

THIS AMERICAN THING

Levin's book fired an opening shot in what Charles Newman has called the 'second revolution', a 'revolution in pedagogy and criticism which interpreted,

canonized and capitalized the Modernist industry'.¹⁸ American scholars after the Second World War were central to this canonising process, and nowhere more so than with Joyce. By 1950 Oliver Gogarty was calling America 'the chief infirmary for Joyceans'.¹⁹ This took time to fill. William York Tindall's *Finnegans Wake* reading-group, founded at Columbia in 1940, was notably early; A. Walton Litz recalls studying *Ulysses* at Princeton as 'an unusual thing for the late 1940s'.²⁰ In a memoir of Richard Ellmann, his former collaborator Ellsworth Mason recalls the absence of twentieth-century literature at Yale in the early 1940s: Ellmann himself was forced to introduce it in a postgraduate group that borrowed W. K. Wimsatt's rooms once a week, and also to reassure Mason that he would one day be able to make sense of Eliot. 'Joyce, like Dante', Mason remembers, 'was considered a great genius, but despite all the copies of *Ulysses* slipped into the United States illegally in the 1920s and its liberation in the 1934 Random House edition, nobody really read it ... Nobody knew how to read it.' Ellmann, of all people, had written to Mason on Armistice Day 1946 to warn that Joyce was 'fine as a hobby but not dissertation material'.²¹

In fact, as John Nash shows in the [previous chapter](#), important discussions and exegeses of Joyce had already appeared by 1940. But they largely originated outside universities. What Levin terms Joyce's 'quick transit from the avant-garde to the academy'²² thus produces a paradox. On one hand, Joyce is made strange all over again: by the standards of university curricula in the 1940s, the twenty-year-old *Ulysses* suddenly becomes a dangerously new text, as it had been in the 1920s. Yet the academy is more notorious for the opposite effect: the institutionalisation and 'taming' of modernism's subversive energies. As Levin put it, 'For his original readers Joyce was a heretic, for many of them an emancipating force. The shift of values at mid-century has recast him in a priestly role, the patriarch of a neo-orthodox cult'.²³

Why did Joyce become so identified with, and so central to, the American academy? One reason was his poor reception in the United Kingdom at this time, most notably at the hands of a suspicious F. R. Leavis. The way was thus clear for US critics to appropriate, or rescue, Joyce and become his strongest post-war readers. This made prophetic William Carlos Williams' 1929 judgement that 'English criticism' could not handle Joyce: 'And this is the opportunity of America! To see large, larger than England can ... This American thing it is that would better fit the Irish of Joyce.'²⁴ The historical sympathy of Americans for colonial Ireland has also been adduced as a factor in America's embrace of Joyce.²⁵ More ingeniously, Declan Kiberd has argued that Irish writing – Yeats and Joyce above all – served as a salve for

humanist American critics after the Second World War had cast traditional values into doubt. The enclave of Ireland, neutral in the 'Emergency', offered an unexpected reprise of cultural holism to a critic like Richard Ellmann.²⁶

The institutional context also demands attention. The funds of American universities were decisive in securing archives of drafts, letters, diaries and other documents. By the end of the 1950s, the manuscripts of Joyce's *Epiphanies* were ensconced at the University of Buffalo, along with Joyce's own library and a set of *Ulysses* drafts. The manuscript of *Ulysses* was at Philadelphia, Cornell had acquired an extensive set of correspondence, and parts of the text of *Stephen Hero* had found their way into Cornell, Harvard and Yale. Such collections rapidly generated further texts cataloguing and anthologising the newly acquired Joyce materials. *Stephen Hero* was edited by Theodore Spencer in 1944, and the conveyor belt was still in motion in 1965, with Richard M. Kain and Robert Scholes' edition of the *Epiphanies* and other *Portrait* drafts as *The Workshop of Daedalus*. An exorbitant, all-consuming logic is at work here, as apparently mundane matter – *Thom's Directory*, the *Evening Telegraph* – is absorbed into the archives, having been a vital part of Joyce's personal library. By 1960, Levin himself felt a little queasy at the scattering of Joycean material into the libraries of the Ivy League, but concluded that it was sufficiently true to the writer: 'the disposition of Joyce's effects was bound to reflect the hazards and ironies of his uprooted career. We can imagine him being consoled by the parallel of the several cities that vied in claiming the vagrant Homer after his death.'²⁷

The universities' stockpiling of Joycean material coincided with a massive expansion of higher education in the USA. Gerald Graff records that the proportion of the eligible population going to college rose from 14 per cent in 1940 to 40 per cent in 1964. Twentieth-century literature, Graff adds, dramatically increased its share of undergraduate attention after the war.²⁸ Observers have been quick to argue that this pedagogical inflation had a theoretical correlative in the New Criticism, and in turn that this critical movement was all too conveniently designed to make modernism newly acceptable to the academy. It is true that for the first twenty years after the war, readings of Joyce tended to reproduce the period's dominant critical terms: wholeness, integrity, symbol, the abstracting powers of art. Yet the most influential criticism had its own distinctive concerns, which cannot be entirely reduced to this programme. If Harry Levin had a historical sense then so, in a more doggedly detailed fashion, did Richard M. Kain, whose remarkable *Fabulous Voyager* (1947) is a distant ancestor of the detailed

historical work that would begin to occupy radical critics some four decades later. The two most important critics of the post-war decades, Richard Ellmann (1918–87) and Hugh Kenner (1923–2003), were formed in the age of New Criticism. But they also developed distinctive positions: distinctive not least from each other.

PULL THE BOOK TOGETHER

Only a biographer could have attained Richard Ellmann's status. The plainly entitled *James Joyce* (1959) retains its centrality amid the welter of other books of that title partly because of its genre. For many readers of Joyce, other works are relatively superfluous by comparison. Ellmann thus became a tribal elder, a unique point of reference. As Bernard McGinley remarks, the phrase "It's in Ellmann" came to seem 'epistemologically final, the last word' for all kinds of claims about Joyce.²⁹

Reviewing *James Joyce*, Frank Kermode already reckoned that it had 'fix[ed] Joyce's image for a generation'.³⁰ He probably underestimated. Fifty years on, Ellmann's remains the central scholarly work in Joyce studies. The views of the Joyce Estate have made it difficult for subsequent biographers to challenge his record at full length. It has not gone entirely unchallenged. For all the reverence accorded him, Ellmann's facts have been under attack since the book was published. The biography's 'immense machine', William Empson immediately complained, was too often 'reporting gossip'.³¹ When Ellmann issued a revised edition in 1982, Hugh Kenner took a handful of claims apart in gleefully painful detail.³² The effect was less to undermine this or that fact than to make the whole edifice tremble slightly. Brief lives have appeared, like Edna O'Brien's and Ian Pindar's,³³ and Andrew Gibson's polemically politicized life-story (2006). Peter Costello (1992) and John McCourt (2000) have also shown what can still be achieved by returning to sources.

Yet Ellmann's success in securing Joyce's image, and tying his own name to the writer's, is not only a matter of facts. It also involves the vision of Joyce that he proposed. The fundamental principle of Ellmann's Joyce, from the biography through to his later critical discussions in *Ulysses on the Liffey* (1972) and *The Consciousness of Joyce* (1977), is unity. He seeks a life which can be read as a coherent narrative, a systematic intellectual programme of tirelessly propounded values, a continuity between experience and art. His holism emerged with particular clarity when the *Times Literary Supplement* asked him to review Clive Hart and David Hayman's collection of essays on *Ulysses* in 1975. 'The assumption on which *James*

Joyce's "*Ulysses*" rests', Ellmann's review begins, 'is that *Ulysses*, because it contains eighteen episodes, can profitably be discussed piecemeal by eighteen different critics. Whatever merit attaches to particular essays ... the effect of splitting the novel up this way is to lose sight of the "wholeness, harmony and radiance" that Joyce intended it should manifest.' Future critics, Ellmann concludes, 'will pull the book together rather than apart'.³⁴ And what goes for the work goes equally for its relation to the life. In *The Consciousness of Joyce* (1977) Ellmann writes that 'truth', for Joyce, 'required that there should be between the writer's life and his work an umbilical relation ... The more genuine the urge to expression, the more it had to do with accessible feelings.'³⁵ In the Introduction to the biography he expands on this principle:

The life of an artist, but particularly that of Joyce, differs from the lives of other persons in that its events are becoming artistic sources even as they command his present attention. ... he shapes again the experiences which have shaped him ... In turn the process of reshaping experience becomes a part of his life, another of its recurrent events like rising or sleeping. (*JJ* 3)

The hypnotic language, itself full of 'recurrent' terms, lulls us into a sense of plenitude, of a constant organic reciprocity between life and letters; the emergent totality of 'James Joyce' is enacted by Ellmann's even, assured tone. Ellmann also shares with Harry Levin a stylistic gift, a way with neat paradox and elegant summary: 'Before Ibsen's letter Joyce was an Irishman; after it he was a European'; 'Joyce has been derided as more mimic than creator, which charge, being untrue, is the greatest praise of all' (*JJ* 75, 363). This syntactical shapeliness achieves in style the effect of unity that Ellmann consistently sought. His biography produces and responds to an understanding of Joyce which is fundamentally harmonious.

This is not Ellmann's only voice. *James Joyce* in fact represents its subject in two modes which are distinct, even seemingly opposed. One is the heroic tone which rises to the surface when Ellmann celebrates Joyce's dedication to his radiant art. Yet while this manner defines Ellmann's ultimate view of the work, he narrates the life in a different voice, urbane and amused. 'Joyce', he opines,

needed exile as a reproach to others and a justification of himself ... [L]ike other revolutionaries, he fattened on opposition and grew thin and pale when treated with indulgence. Whenever his relations with his native land were in danger of improving, he was to find a new incident to solidify his intransigence and to reaffirm the rightness of his voluntary absence. (*JJ* 109)

In passages like these – and many of Ellmann's judgements share this mood – Joyce is ostentatiously ironised. The seriousness of his motives dissolves into display: his avowed pain becomes a public performance. Ellmann himself plays a part. He gazes with paternal indulgence at the antics of the young man (and even, later on, the middle-aged man), patiently mocking, yet never withdrawing his tolerance.

If the heroic mode exalts the artist, the ironic note makes the man's life a more cheerful spectacle, however grim the evidence. Like Harry Levin before him, Ellmann seems to look at Joyce from a distance – a figural one, and, perhaps behind that, a geographical one. The art wins undying respect; the history amid which it unfolds is no ground for any further anxiety. Declan Kiberd, Ellmann's former student, has opined that for all his services to Irish literature, Ellmann had little time for Ireland.³⁶ William Empson complained that Ellmann had taken Joyce's politics altogether too lightly, failing to appreciate that 'socialism' might be more than another adolescent caprice.³⁷ Ellmann, like Levin, does historicise Joyce – but with a transatlantic detachment that can become Olympian. Unlike Levin's, his vision is fundamentally genial: whether ironised or lionised, Ellmann's Joyce ultimately says yes to life. This, as much as any of Ellmann's more specific claims, would be decisive.

If Ellmann's thought is humanist in its assertion of a continual identity and its satisfying artistic expression, it is also humanist in an evaluative sense, reading Joyce as the democratic champion of everyday folk. Here Ellmann departs most decisively from Levin, and develops the reading laid down by Frank Budgen in the 1930s. 'Joyce's discovery', he announces, 'so humanistic that he would have been embarrassed to disclose it out of context, was that the ordinary is the extraordinary' (*JJ* 5). His analysis of *Ulysses* naturally supports this view. 'The divine part of Bloom', we learn, 'is simply his humanity – his assumption of a bond between himself and other created beings' (*JJ* 362). Finally, '[t]he theme of *Ulysses* is simple ... Casual kindness overcomes unconscionable power ... In Joyce's work the soul – a word which he never renounced – carries off the victory' (*JJ* 379). The rhetoric has stirred generations of readers. Emer Nolan has described 'Joyce's canonization as the most congenial of early twentieth-century writers, "the saving humanist of English language modernism"'.³⁸ A central event in that process is Ellmann's powerfully affirmative reading of Joyce in the late 1950s. A list of names indebted to Ellmann could run for pages and remain incomplete. His biography also did much to establish Joyce's image and reputation outside the academy, and any 'popular Joyce' today is likely to follow Ellmann's example.

GEARS AND SIDEWALKS

Hugh Kenner was Canadian, Catholic, quirky. His doctorate, 'James Joyce: Critique in Progress', was written at Yale with the New Critic Cleanth Brooks. But his earlier mentor at the University of Toronto, Marshall McLuhan, would be the most distinctive academic shaper of Kenner's thought. Kenner was profoundly literary, the closest of readers. Partially deaf, he seemed to regard a page of text with senses more heightened than other critics; he could discern multiple sets of invisible quotation marks around a sentence in 'Telemachus'.³⁹ But his mind was also extra-literary, trained in mathematics and sufficiently steeped in science to write books on Buckminster Fuller's geodesic domes. It is surprising, in a sense, that such a diverse, unconventional mind could exert such influence over the post-war reading of Joyce. The influence was doubtless less singular and permeating than Ellmann's. But Kenner started many different cogs whirring, as his thoughts revolved through Joyce down the decades. He had a capacity to see ironies, ambiguities and correspondences where others could not – perhaps even where they did not exist – and a style to startle and sway the reader. If Ellmann gave the world the humanist Joyce, Kenner offered what I have called a 'counter-humanism': an ongoing reading which in diverse ways refused that seductive harmony.⁴⁰ It is worth noting the main elements of this refusal.

Critique in Progress was revised and published as *Dublin's Joyce* (1956). The book was one of a series of monographs in which Kenner indefatigably staked out the ground of modernism. Volumes on Pound, Lewis, Eliot and Beckett, all of whom Kenner made it his business to meet, surrounded it. *Dublin's Joyce* was one of the major Joycean works of the 1950s, studded with insight and argument; but it is also unstable, clotted, cranky. The first of Kenner's counter-humanist threads is here: a Catholic refusal of human hubris. The book voices a dark suspicion of modern life which verges on the misanthropic. But this was not altogether original: it echoed Ezra Pound's view of *Ulysses* as an 'inferno' and Joyce as a satirist, and even Levin's sense of modernism as an art of despair. Muted into playful scepticism down the years, Kenner's suspicion would remain significant. Thus, looking back at *Dubliners*, he would famously propose that 'Frank' had never intended to take Eveline to Buenos Aires, whatever her words' face value.⁴¹ Words, for Kenner, had other values, shades of sense for which we must narrow our eyes. Late in his career, he could still muse: 'Why anything, for instance a voiceless page of the *Times*, is less impenetrable than it is; that is something truly obscure.'⁴²

The reference to the press is telling. “Modernism”, Kenner opined in the same breath, ‘may be described along one of its cross-sections as a coming-to-terms of printed language with print.’⁴³ *Dublin’s Joyce* thought briefly of *Ulysses* as ‘[a] huge and intricate machine clanking and whirring for eighteen hours’: a ‘tessellated mosaic’ belonging to ‘a world of gears and sidewalks, of bricks laid side by side, of data thrust into a computer and whirled through permutations baffling to the imagination but always traceable by careful reason’.⁴⁴ The idea would not be fully realised until Kenner’s later volumes, including the lecture series *The Stoic Comedians* (1962) and *The Mechanic Muse* (1987), and the returns to Joyce in *Joyce’s Voices* (1978) and ‘*Ulysses*’ (1980). What this work repeatedly developed was a sense of the mechanical quality of Joyce’s writing. Flaubert, Joyce and Beckett, Kenner proposed, were all ‘machine-novelists’, forging a tradition quite distinct from that of ‘Dostoevski, Tolstoi, George Eliot, D. H. Lawrence’.⁴⁵ Craft is pitted against spontaneity, language as an intransigent material to be organised (‘the sentence’) against words giving us life as it really is (‘the event’), the novel viewed not as bright book of life but as an intricate mechanism of parts, functions, effects. Ellmann worked to make Joyce safe for a humanist aesthetic which he troubled. Kenner found Joyce a new home where his ‘failings’ – formalism, detachment, excess – need no longer be excused, but can be seen as the lineaments of a new poetics.

It was Kenner, then, who saw the most unexpected way beyond the ‘post-war Joyce’ of epiphany, radiance and common decency, into a distinctly different way of conceiving text. He remained unimpressed by the claims of ‘theory’, but in some respects his aesthetics and his canonical criteria were ones with which theory strove to catch up. Meanwhile the Joyce Industry hummed. Scholarship like Campbell and Robinson’s *Skeleton Key to ‘Finnegans Wake’* (1944) and Adaline Glasheen’s remarkable *Census* for the same book (1956) provided provisional facts in which reading could be grounded. Critics like A. Walton Litz, Clive Hart and David Hayman developed the foundations of Levin and Ellmann for successive generations of students. From the 1960s, the efforts of Fritz Senn, Bernard Benstock and Thomas Staley were particularly pivotal in launching the academic symposia which would grow steadily over the next four decades. In 1963 Staley founded the *James Joyce Quarterly* at the University of Tulsa (Oklahoma) in another of the moments that sealed Joyce’s status as a great Irish-American.

As for the Irish themselves, their work on Joyce was more fragmentary at this stage. The Americans did their time in Dublin, sipping the stout and looking for contacts and information. It was flattering that the critical emissaries of the Western superpower were treating modern Irish letters

so reverently. Yet feelings could be harsher. Many Irish commentators affected to despise the critical influx. Americans were mocked for ignorance of Dublin, for imagining it unchanged since 1904, for uncritically accepting the exile's disparagements of it. In 1951, Brian O'Nolan (better known as Flann O'Brien) was asked to edit a special Joyce issue of the literary magazine *Envoy*. In essays like these, a complex of feelings produced a distinctly indigenous discourse on Joyce. He was to be taken back from the Americans, but also disparaged to undo their reverence. He was sometimes treated as a half-sane egotist whom the world had mistakenly indulged. Yet it was still insisted that only the Irish could understand him, and some writers found a proto-political significance in Joyce's writing, as in Patrick Kavanagh's casual declaration that Joyce's outstanding quality was 'his Catholicism or rather his anti-Protestantism'.⁴⁶ These contradictory reactions reflected the fragile state of Irish critical discourse. As Gerry Smyth has shown, the production of an Irish literary criticism was part of the struggle to establish a civil society in post-colonial conditions, and amid facilities unlike those of Yale or Oxford.⁴⁷ In the immediate post-war period, Ireland may have been more a destination for US scholars than the ground for a sustained, rooted engagement with Joyce. But these early Irish voices signalled Ireland's and Joyce's unresolved claims on each other. These claims had been only partially allowed by Levin and Ellmann, but would be recognised and scrutinised anew by later critics. Much immediately post-war writing on Joyce can feel distant. Yet it is part of the history which allows us to read Joyce as we do now, after six post-war decades and several more wars.

NOTES

1. See Seamus Heaney, *New Selected Poems 1966–87* (London: Faber & Faber, 1990), pp. 192–3, and Jacques Derrida, 'Two Words for Joyce', in Derek Attridge and Daniel Ferrer, eds., *Post-Structuralist Joyce: Essays from the French* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 149.
2. Harry Levin, *James Joyce: A Critical Introduction* [1941], revised edn (London: Faber & Faber, 1960), p. 13.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
5. Bernard McGinley, *Joyce's Lives: Uses and Abuses of the Biografiend* (London: North London University Press, 1996), p. 17.
6. Levin, *James Joyce*, p. 14.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 79, 80.
9. Lionel Trilling, *Beyond Culture: Essays on Literature and Learning* (Harmondsworth: Peregrine, 1967), pp. 19–41.

10. Edmund Wilson, *Axel's Castle: A Study in the Imaginative Literature of 1870–1930* (New York: Scribner's, 1931), p. 25.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 82–3.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 38.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 115, 114.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
16. Levin, *James Joyce*, p. 67.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
18. Charles Newman, *The Post-Modern Aura: The Act of Literature in an Age of Inflation* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1985), p. 27.
19. Oliver St John Gogarty, 'They Think They Know Joyce', *Saturday Review of Literature*, 33 (18 March 1950): 8–9, 36–7, reprinted in *CH* 11 765.
20. See William York Tindall, *A Reader's Guide to 'Finnegans Wake'* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1969), p. 24, and A. Walton Litz, 'Ulysses and its Audience', in Morris Beja *et al.*, eds., *James Joyce: The Centennial Symposium* (Urbana: Illinois University Press, 1986), p. 220.
21. Ellsworth Mason, 'Ellmann's Road to Xanadu', in Susan Dick *et al.*, eds., *Omnium Gatherium* (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1989), pp. 5, 10.
22. Levin, *James Joyce*, p. 198.
23. *Ibid.*
24. William Carlos Williams, 'A Point for American Criticism', in Samuel Beckett *et al.*, *Our Exagmination Round his Factification for Incamination of Work in Progress* [1929] (London: Faber & Faber, 1972), pp. 180–1.
25. Cheryl Herr, 'Ireland from the Outside', in Mark A. Wollaeger *et al.*, eds., *Joyce and the Subject of History* (Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1996), p. 208.
26. Declan Kiberd, *Irish Classics* (London: Faber & Faber, 2000), p. 245.
27. Levin, *James Joyce*, p. 187.
28. See Gerald Graff, *Professing Literature: An Institutional History* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987), pp. 155, 196–7.
29. McGinley, *Joyce's Lives*, p. 31.
30. Frank Kermode, 'Puzzles and Epiphanies', *Spectator*, 13 November 1959: 675.
31. William Empson, 'The Joyce Saga: Before Bloomsday and After', *New Statesman*, 31 October 1959: 585.
32. See Hugh Kenner, 'The Impertinence of Being Definitive', *Times Literary Supplement*, 17 December 1982: 1383–4.
33. Edna O'Brien, *James Joyce* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999); Ian Pindar, *James Joyce* (London: Haus Publishing, 2004).
34. Richard Ellmann, 'Pieces of Ulysses', *Times Literary Supplement*, 3 October 1975: 1118.
35. Richard Ellmann, *The Consciousness of Joyce* (London: Faber & Faber, 1977), p. 74.
36. Declan Kiberd, *The Irish Writer and the World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 240–1.
37. Empson, 'Joyce Saga': 585.

38. Emer Nolan, *James Joyce and Nationalism* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 1.
39. Hugh Kenner, *Ulysses*, 2nd edn (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987 [1980]), p. 35.
40. For a fuller account of this see Joseph Brooker, *Joyce's Critics: Transitions in Reading and Culture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), pp. 119–30.
41. See Hugh Kenner, *The Pound Era* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: California University Press, 1971), pp. 34–9.
42. Hugh Kenner, 'Joyce and Modernism', in Kathleen McCormick and Erwin R. Steinberg, eds., *Approaches to Teaching Joyce's 'Ulysses'* (New York: MLA, 1993), p. 22.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
44. Hugh Kenner, *Dublin's Joyce* [1956] (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), pp. 166–7.
45. Hugh Kenner, *The Stoic Comedians: Flaubert, Joyce and Beckett* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: California University Press, 1962), p. xix.
46. Patrick Kavanagh, 'Who Killed James Joyce?', in John Ryan, ed., *A Bash in the Tunnel: James Joyce by the Irish* (Brighton: Clifton, 1970), p. 49.
47. Gerry Smyth, *Decolonization and Criticism* (London: Pluto, 1998).

*Structuralism, deconstruction, post-structuralism**Sam Slote*

Many of the earliest readers of *Ulysses* found themselves stymied by Joyce's experiments with form. For example, in a largely positive review, Holbrook Jackson grouched that 'the greatest affront of all is the arrangement of the book, *Ulysses* is a chaos'.¹ In order to counter such claims, Valéry Larbaud took some effort to emphasise the book's overall structure in his introductory talk at Adrienne Monnier's Maison des Amis des Livres in December 1921 (subsequently published in the first issue of *The Criterion*). Larbaud stressed that the book was not a chaos and had a structure, and that this structure, registered on the schema Joyce had used while composing it, informed the meanings of the book at the smallest level.

We begin to discover and to anticipate symbols, a design, a plan in what appeared to us at first a brilliant but confused mass of notations, phrases, data, profound thoughts, fantasticalities, splendid images, absurdities, comic or dramatic situations; and we realise that we are before a much more complicated book than we had supposed, that everything which appeared arbitrary and sometimes extravagant is really deliberate and premeditated; in short, that we are before a book which has a key.²

The structuring scheme for *Ulysses* thus explains its welter of images and symbols and so forth and, in so doing, enriches the experience of the text. Almost ten years after Larbaud's talk, Stuart Gilbert likewise emphasised the underlying structure of *Ulysses* as a means of making the text more accessible to its potentially perplexed readers. Although this early emphasis on underlying structure was prompted by Joyce, at one point he confessed to Beckett that 'I may have oversystematized *Ulysses*' (JJ 702), an assertion that suggests that Joyce himself might be considered the book's first post-structuralist reader.

From the earliest, Joyce criticism has tended to associate structure with meaning. This interpretive intertwining of form and content, of course, worked well within the framework of the *soi disant* New Criticism that emerged in the 1940s. The apotheosis of such criticism would probably be

Clive Hart's *Structure and Motif in Finnegans Wake*. Hart claims that 'The structural patterns in *Finnegans Wake* cannot ... be dismissed as aesthetic scaffolding, of use to the writer but irrelevant to the reader, for these patterns carry much of the book's burden of significance.'³ Hart goes on to explicate the *Wake* in terms of the repetition and concatenation of the micro-elements of structure (*motifs*) within a systematic macro-structure. In this way, patterns accumulate and fuse together out of lexical chaos, thereby reducing the critic's task to an explication of the tension of articulation between tenebrous individual passages and comprehensible macro-text. Hart essentially established a hermeneutic faith that *Finnegans Wake* is a readable book despite of – or even because of – the unreadability of specific passages. In other words, sense comes from structure, form *informs* content.

Parallel to the early criticism of Joyce and the emergence of New Criticism in the UK and the US, structuralism started to develop in Prague in the 1920s. As with the New Criticism, Russian formalism was a signal antecedent, although the Structuralists' consideration of formal elements was subsumed within the matrix of Ferdinand de Saussure's structural linguistics. While structuralism examined the structure internal to a given literary work and construed that work on the basis of its structuration, it also recognised that any iteration (whether a spoken word, as in a Saussurian analysis of *parole* and *langue*, or a literary text) rests within and depends upon a complex foundational structure of linguistic and cultural codes. In other words, the meaning, or meanings, of a text emerge not just from the holistic structure of that text (the handsome 'well-wrought urn' so beloved by the New Critics), but also from pre-existing linguistic and cultural structures of differentiation that occasion that text. The text depends upon a structure that exceeds it. The 'key' to *Ulysses* that Larbaud proffers, then, would be somewhat more convoluted than Joyce's schemata: it would be a massive interlaced web of reference and cross-reference.

This idea of a larger structure was essential for the Prague School since they attempted to define the *literariness* of literature, that is, the linguistic qualities that distinguish literary articulation from everyday speech. As Roman Jakobson phrased it, the question is 'What makes a verbal message a work of art?'⁴ Roland Barthes very succinctly characterises the machinations of the genre of criticism that attempts to answer this question: 'The goal of all structuralist activity, whether reflexive or poetic, is to reconstruct an "object" in such a way as to manifest thereby the rules of functioning (the "functions") of this object ... Structural man takes the real, decomposes it, then recomposes it.'⁵ As a mode of literary criticism, structuralism, then, is an examination of the language of literature; in Terry Eagleton's description, to be read

in both its positive and negative senses, a 'remorseless *demystification* of literature'.⁶ Through the anthropological work of Claude Lévi-Strauss, who studied under Jakobson at the New School in New York in the 1950s, structuralism became a dominant force in French intellectual life in the 1960s, and not just in literary studies, as Lévi-Strauss adopted and adapted Saussurian linguistic structures of differentiation to cultural (i.e. non-literary) forms.

Perhaps not inappropriately, the history of structuralism and post-structuralism is somewhat blurry. This confusion stems from a tight interplay of similarities and differences between what these two fields now name. The confusion was further compounded by the fact that what is now called post-structuralism was first introduced to the US at the same time as structuralism, at the groovy 1966 conference 'The Languages of Criticism and the Sciences of Man', held at Johns Hopkins University. Conference proceedings were published in 1968 with the subtitle *The Structuralist Controversy* to indicate that what had been introduced to American shores was already being displaced. Indeed, the title and subtitle were flipped on the 1970 re-edition to highlight further the controversial displacement (with the controversy now fully canonised, a new edition was published in 2006 to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the conference).⁷ Therefore, the reception and appropriation of structuralism by Anglo-American Joyce critics in the 1970s was already tinged (if not singed or even stung) by post-structuralist thought. Likewise, much of the early self-styled post-structuralist Joyce criticism from the English-speaking world was effectively little more than Structuralist criticism liberally peppered with tangy words like 'rupture' and 'displacement'.

The journal *Tel Quel* was one of several conduits for structuralism (and, later, post-structuralism) in France in the 1960s. It was also a not-insignificant forum for Joyce studies in France at this time and so, unsurprisingly, it is in its pages that one finds the first overtly Structuralist readings of Joyce.⁸ *Tel Quel* 30 featured a mini-section on Joyce, which included an article by Jean Paris, entitled 'Finnegan, Wake!', that applies a structural linguistic model to reading *Wakean* portmanteaux. Paris argues that the way in which the *Wake* can be comprehended despite its apparent opacity is through 'the totality of languages, living or lost'.⁹ In other words, he extends Hart's search for structure beyond the text in and of itself and on to the broadest possible linguistic field. He illustrates this by providing lists of all possible words and phonemes suggested by 'venissoon' (*FW* 3.10), 'cweamy' (*FW* 337.16) and 'notshall' (*FW* 455.29) but admits that perhaps only a computer could fully parse the linguistic suggestions proffered through Joyce's portmanteaux.¹⁰

Paris and others involved with this special Joyce issue were soon exiled from *Tel Quel* and founded their own journal, *Change*¹¹ which published a special issue – *Change* 11 – edited by Paris and devoted to Joyce. Paris' own piece in this issue continues where the article in *Tel Quel* 30 had left off¹² while his earlier linguistic analysis of the *Wakean* pun is continued in Mitsou Ronat's Chomskian analysis.¹³

Perhaps the most expansive iteration of Paris' etymological *recherche* is Umberto Eco's semiotic analysis in the essay "The Semantics of Metaphor."¹⁴ Eco proposes that metaphor can be considered as a chain of metonymic connections based within a pre-existent semantic field. Through a meticulous analogical analysis the constitutive and discrete semantic units can be parsed and comprehended. *Wakean* portmanteaux provide Eco with a rich field to investigate this hypothesis. He proffers, as a hermeneutically cunning example, the word 'meandertale' (*FW* 18.22) and traces out in diagram form the chain of associations, both lexical and semantic, engendered through and by this one word (meander, tale, tal, Neanderthal, etc.). In this chart, the word-thing 'meandertale' gathers the potentially constitutive lexemes that it *is* and *is not*. 'The interconnections show, moreover, the way in which every lexeme can in this turn become the archetype of an associative series which would lead to the recuperation, sooner or later, of the associative terminus of another lexeme.'¹⁵ In making this claim, Eco posits an eidetically transparent transposition of sense and signification; that is, the meandering, associative direction from lexeme to lexeme can be reversed in order to extract and reground some stable original meaning, even if that stable meaning is never fixed and can always be challenged and altered. In a later essay, Eco is quite explicit about delimiting the *Wake's* asperity along this chain of displaced and displacing signification: 'In the process of unlimited semiosis it is certainly possible to go from any one node to every other node, but the passages are controlled by rules of connection that our cultural history has in some way legitimated.'¹⁶ For Eco, linguistic fungibility is both determinate and determining. Therefore, this programme of analysis might be perfect for parsing Cockney rhyming slang, but not necessarily the *Wake*. Eco therefore ultimately assumes the possibility of excavating a Neanderthal into a living present of semantic exchange. In this way, the task of reading the *Wake* would be to create such associative webs of reference and cross-reference, a task of reading that Eco claims is exactly analogous to Joyce's task of writing:

This means that all connections were already codified before the artist could recognize them by pretending to institute or discover them. This allows us to affirm that it is in theory possible to construct an automaton whose memory would conserve all the semantic fields and axes which we have just mentioned; it is thus

within its capacity to establish the connections which we have indicated (or, as it were, to attempt to make others; this could mean writing a new *FW* or reading *FW* in a way different from our own).¹⁷

Like Paris, Eco's ideal reader of the *Wake* is a computer of some kind since the *Wake* was created from patterns of substitution enacted through a vast web of linguistic and cultural identity and difference that is culturally (which is to say axiomatically) regulated. Only a computer could reckon with a web as vast as Joyce's, which is to say that only a computer could comprehend the structure Joyce projects.

The first American Joycean to employ explicitly the theories of the Structuralist school was Robert Scholes. In his 1972 essay '*Ulysses*: A Structuralist Perspective', he construes Joyce as a Structuralist *avant la lettre* in that he programmed structural or axiomatic properties into his work, such as the representation of the evolution of English prosody through the shifting styles in 'Oxen of the Sun'. 'A book as long as *Ulysses* which was really paradigmatic in its emphasis would be virtually impossible to read – as *Ulysses* is for those who do not see its structure.'¹⁸ For Scholes, the book's underlying informing structure is not a reassuring throwback to classical form, but rather an epistemological revolution.¹⁹ Although Scholes relies on a vocabulary derived from the French Structuralists, his emphasis on underlying, formative structure largely elides linguistic structures outside the text. In this way, his work is more akin to pre-Structuralists such as Larbaud and Hart. Scholes himself has subsequently admitted of this essay that 'I was coming to structuralism as a rank outsider and I see now that I never got it quite right.'²⁰

The Autumn 1978 – Winter 1979 issue of the *James Joyce Quarterly* was devoted to structuralism and Reader Response theory. The issue was prefaced with the translation of an essay by Jean Ricardou that illustrated a Structuralist approach to reading, but without reference to Joyce. Not unlike Scholes' earlier essay, most of the so-styled 'Structuralist' essays in this issue did not pursue a Structuralist paradigm as such but rather emphasised the significant function of structure in Joyce's works. The two exceptions would be Scholes' essay on the narratological structure of 'Eveline'²¹ and Joseph Kestner's essay. Kestner claims that Joyce projects into his text the structure of the relationship of the writer to the reader through characters, such as Stephen Dedalus, who are interpreters of signs. 'To read the text//sign is to find its *signifié*, the potential inherent in its message, immanent in its code. To "disentangle" from the "mesh" precisely defines the creative and interpretive acts concerning the palimpsest.'²² In other words, Kestner construes Joyce's works as a *mise en abîme* of the

structure of interpretation, which is for him, notably, a structure that can be disentangled, and, thus, comprehended.

Reflecting the contaminated introduction of structuralism into the US, the lengthiest Structuralist analysis of *Finnegans Wake*, Margot Norris' *The Decentered Universe of 'Finnegans Wake'* is also somewhat of a post-structuralist reading. While she is indebted to earlier analyses of structure in the *Wake*, such as Hart's, she attempts to demonstrate how Joyce's use of various structuring principles is ultimately an 'attack on the traditional concept of structure itself'.²³ According to Norris, Joyce mimes the appearance of structuration (as would have been described by Larbaud, Hart, Eco, *et alia*) but only in order to reveal the impossibility of stable structure. In other words, the chaos of Joyce's works that so frustrated readers like Jackson derives from the use and abuse of form.

Jacques Derrida's contribution to the 1966 Johns Hopkins conference was the over-anthologised paper 'Structure, Sign, and Play in the Discourse of Human Sciences'. In that essay (as well as in *Of Grammatology* and some essays in *Writing and Difference*, both of which were published in France in 1967) Derrida argues that the demystification structuralism promises is itself yet another metaphysical mystification in that it imposes a determinate and determining world-picture (*Weltanschauung*) over the world. By definition, structure is coherent and thus excludes or interdicts play. Derrida's argument is not just limited to structuralism as such since he also addresses the structuralising genre of interpretation in, for example, Plato and Rousseau. Derrida's deconstructive project is to seriously acknowledge play, that is to say difference, that which is other to structure.

There are thus two interpretations of interpretation, of structure, of sign, of play. The one seeks to decipher, dreams of deciphering, a truth or an origin which escapes play and the order of the sign, and which lives the necessity of interpretation like an exile. The other, which is no longer turned toward the origin, affirms play and tries to pass beyond man and humanism, the name of man being the name of that being who, throughout the history of metaphysics or of ontotheology – in other words, throughout his entire history – has dreamed of full presence, the reassuring foundation, the origin and the end of play.²⁴

Derrida calls this latter possibility Nietzschean in that it is a transvaluation of the value of structure. Clearly, Eco's semiotic analysis of chains of fungible association would be an act of deciphering Joyce, that is of reducing play to a determinate meaning or meanings. Derrida's articulation of two possibilities here follows from his first published piece, a lengthy introduction to Edmund Husserl's brief *Essay on the Origin of Geometry*. This piece is significant for our purposes because of the way in which

Derrida posits Joyce in relation to Husserl. After a lengthy account of the Husserlian project as an attempt to regulate philosophical thinking into a determinate and determining univocity where language is transparent to or coterminous with history, Derrida proposes that there might be an alternative possibility, one of equivocity:

Since equivocity always evidences a certain depth of development and concealment of a past, and when one wishes to assume and *interiorize* the memory of a culture in a kind of *recollection* (*Erinnerung*) in the Hegelian sense, one has, facing this equivocity, the choice of two endeavors. One would resemble that of James Joyce: to repeat and take responsibility for all equivocalization itself, utilizing a language that could equalize the greatest possible synchrony with the greatest potential for buried, accumulated, and interwoven intentions within each linguistic atom, each vocable, each word, each simple proposition, in all worldly cultures and their most ingenious forms (mythology, religion, sciences, arts, literature, politics, philosophy, and so forth). And, like Joyce, this endeavor would try to make the structural unity of all empirical culture appear in the generalized equivocation of a writing that, no longer translating one language into another on the basis of their common cores of sense, circulates throughout all languages at once, accumulates their energies, actualizes their most secret consonances, discloses their furthestmost common horizons, cultivates their associative syntheses instead of avoiding them, and rediscovers the poetic value of passivity ... The other endeavor is Husserl's: to reduce or impoverish empirical language methodically to the point where its univocal and translatable elements are actually transparent, in order to reach back and grasp again at its pure source a historicity or traditionality that no de facto historical totality will yield of itself.²⁵

This is obviously a very dense passage but a few points can be made about how this signals where Derrida's interest in Joyce lies. Earlier, Derrida had claimed that for Husserl 'Equivocity is the path of all philosophical aberration';²⁶ in other words, phenomenology does not tolerate radical ambiguity. With its emphasis on demystification and classification, structuralism evinces a similar distrust of equivocity. Derrida names two types of equivocity, the first is a simple plurivocity (such as a pun as analysed by Eco), but the second is more problematic in that it elicits new configurations of identity. The pun or portmanteau is not an equivocity since the plurality of meanings it enstates are all determinate. On the other hand, Derrida imagines that equivocity *would* resemble Joyce's work. By phrasing this alternative in the conditional, Derrida does not grant indeterminacy a determinate status. Perhaps Joyce's work, as such, is not the alternative to the Husserlian paradigm, but rather the most proximate example of such an alternative. For Derrida, the Joycean text is not necessarily reducible to a singular determinant of meaning since it equivocates, and it does so by incorporating all sorts of meanings from many different languages across the widest number

of possible fields. In terms of the chain of transposed signification enabled by *Wakean* portmanteaux that Eco delineates, Derrida emphasises the *dispersal* of sense rather than the collection of various different meanings.

The implication here is that the task of reading Joyce will not be fulfilled by simply parsing away the references, by an *explication du texte*, since that would reduce Joyce to a simple plurivocity, that is, to the realm of a singular determinant of meaning. In this way, Derrida has here proposed a mode of reading Joyce that is largely at odds with the methods and practices of traditional literary scholarship. Derrida is relatively explicit about this in 'Two Words for Joyce,' his 1982 paper on *Finnegans Wake*:

Counting these connections, calculating the speed of these communications, would be impossible, at least *de facto*, so long as we have not constructed the machine capable of integrating all the variables, all the quantitative or qualitative factors. This won't happen tomorrow, and in any case this machine would only be the double or the simulation of the event 'Joyce', the name of Joyce, the signed work, the Joyce software today, joyceware.²⁷

Eco's automaton would thus be one example of some 'joyceware': a tabularisation of meaning imposed with the weight of full explication and understanding. However, even those readings of Joyce done under the rubric of 'Derridean' would also risk reducing Joyce to a singular determinant of meaning, perhaps even, for example, the essays published in the 1984 collection *Post-Structuralist Joyce*. Other than Derrida's essay on the *Wake*,²⁸ this collection includes an essay by Stephen Heath that had originally appeared in *Tel Quel* in 1972. Heath argues how the *Wake* could be described in terms of rupture and transgression: 'a text such as *Finnegans Wake* is not to be read according to a process of unification. The text is not homogenous, but ceaselessly discontinuous, a hesitation of meaning into the perpetual "later"'.²⁹ Heath was not the first critic to have noted discontinuity in the *Wake*; Michel Butor had earlier described the *Wake* as a treasure-trove of lapsus.³⁰ But Heath was the first to attempt a philosophically rigorous articulation of how *Wakean* discontinuity operates. After discussing how the *Wake* emerges from the possibility described by Saussure of the signifier no longer being hinged to a specific signified, Heath claims: '*Finnegans Wake* is, as it were, the elaboration of that threat into a practice of writing: its negation is the breaking of the compromise and the accession to language as productivity; its anti-language is not an absence of language but dramatic presence of language, *mis en scène* on that "scribenerly"'.³¹

Jean-Michel Rabaté's essay in *Post-Structuralist Joyce*, 'Lapsus ex machina', also emphasises how the *Wake* is a machine for producing lapsus and how structure is always already a slip. '*Finnegans Wake* is the collection of

violated acts, snags, self-sabotage, inappropriate uses of performatives which do not perform.³² And so, in the migration from Structuralist readings of Joyce to post-structuralist, the meaningfulness of structure yields to rupture and the interdiction, rather than production, of meaning. Rabaté has since issued a corrective of sorts to Eco's algorithmic reading of the *Wake* from a genetic perspective.³³ Indeed, genetic criticism itself has also come to be considered a post-structuralist movement.³⁴

For the early readings of structure in Joyce, such as Larbaud's and Hart's, the work's holistic structure informs its meaning, whereas in the readings explicitly informed by the offshoots of the Prague School of structuralism, such as Paris' and Eco's, underlying and external (or hypostatic) linguistico-cultural structures inform meaning. In distinction, for Derrida and his disciples ineluctably differential linguistic valences deform the very possibility of a univocal or stabilised meaning. The distinction between Structuralist and post-structuralist readings of Joyce would be articulated in the difference between reading the following line as an answer or as a question: 'Sleep, where in the wake is thy wisdom' (*FW* 114.19–20). For a Structuralist such a statement would be a declarative statement, an answer, in that it postulates wisdom within the *Wake*, whereas for a post-structuralist it would be a question, in that there would be no certainty that such wisdom could be found there.

NOTES

1. Holbrook Jackson, Review of *Ulysses, To-Day* 9 (June 1922): 48.
2. Valéry Larbaud, 'The *Ulysses* of James Joyce', *The Criterion* 1.1 (October 1922): 97.
3. Clive Hart, *Structure and Motif in Finnegans Wake* (London: Faber & Faber, 1962), p. 15.
4. Roman Jakobson, 'Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics', in Thomas A. Sebeok, ed., *Style in Language* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1960), p. 350.
5. Roland Barthes, 'The Structuralist Activity', in *Critical Essays*, trans. Richard Howard (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1972), pp. 214–15.
6. Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), p. 92.
7. Richard Macksey and Eugenio Donato, eds., *The Structuralist Controversy: The Languages of Criticism and the Sciences of Man* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).
8. For a survey of Joyce in *Tel Quel*, see Sam Slote, "'Après mot le déluge" 2: Literary and Theoretical Responses to Joyce in France', in Geert Lernout and Wim Van Mierlo, eds., *The Reception of James Joyce in Europe* (London: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004), pp. 393–402.
9. Jean Paris, 'Finnegan, Wake!', *Tel Quel* 30 (1967): 60.

10. *Ibid.*, 63.
11. See Philippe Forest, *Histoire de Tel Quel 1960–1982* (Paris: Seuil, 1995), pp. 342–47.
12. Jean Paris, 'L'Agonie du signe', *Change* 11 (1972): 133–72.
13. Mitsou Ronat, 'L'Hypotexticale', *Change* 11 (1972): 26–33.
14. In English, this was published as the second chapter of Eco's book *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotic of Texts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979). In French, a portion was published in *Tel Quel* ('Sémantique de la métaphore,' *Tel Quel* 55 (1974): 25–46). A modified version of this argument appears in Eco's chapter on the *Wake* in *The Aesthetics of Chaosmos*, trans. Ellen Esrock (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 65–74.
15. Umberto Eco, 'The Semantics of Metaphor', trans. John Snyder, *The Role of the Reader* (London: Hutchinson, 1981), p. 76.
16. Umberto Eco, 'Joyce, Semiosis, and Semiotics', in *The Limits of Interpretation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), pp. 137–51, 148. This paper was first delivered at the 1988 Joyce Symposium in Venice and reprises 'The Semantics of Metaphor'.
17. Eco, 'The Semantics of Metaphor', p. 77.
18. Robert Scholes, 'Ulysses: A Structuralist Perspective', *JJQ* 10.1 (1972): 169.
19. *Ibid.*: 162–3.
20. Robert Scholes, *In Search of James Joyce* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), p. 117.
21. Robert Scholes, 'Semiotic Approaches to a Fictional Text: Joyce's "Eveline"', *JJQ* 16.1–2 (1978–9): 65–80.
22. Joseph Kestner, 'Virtual Text/Virtual Reader: The Structural Signature Within, Behind, Beyond, Above', *JJQ* 16.1–2 (1978–9): 33.
23. Margot Norris, *The Decentered Universe of Finnegans Wake* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), p. 121.
24. Jacques Derrida, 'Structure, Sign, and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences', in *Writing and Difference*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), p. 292.
25. Jacques Derrida, *Introduction to Edmund Husserl's 'Origin of Geometry'*, trans. John P. Leavey, Jr (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), pp. 102–3.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
27. Jacques Derrida, 'Two Words for Joyce', trans. Geoff Bennington, in Derek Attridge and Daniel Ferrer, eds., *Post-Structuralist Joyce: Essays from the French* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 147–8.
28. For more on Derrida's essay on the *Wake*, see Sam Slote, 'No Symbols Where None Intended', in Laurent Milesi, ed., *James Joyce and the Difference of Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 195–207.
29. Stephen Heath, 'Ambiviolence: Notes for Reading Joyce', in Attridge and Ferrer, eds., *Post-Structuralist Joyce*, p. 32.
30. Michel Butor, 'Esquisse d'un seuil pour Finnegan', *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, new series V.60 (1957): 1042.
31. Heath, 'Ambiviolences: Notes for Reading Joyce', pp. 57–8.

32. Jean-Michel Rabaté, 'Lapsus ex machina', trans. Elizabeth Guild, in Attridge and Ferrer, eds., *Post-Structuralist Joyce*, p. 91; reprinted and revised in *Joyce Upon the Void* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1991), pp. 112–33.
33. Jean-Michel Rabaté, 'Back to Beria!: Genetic Joyce and Eco's "Ideal Readers"', in David Hayman, and Sam Slote, eds., *Probes: Genetic Studies in Joyce* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), pp. 65–83.
34. See Daniel Ferrer and Michael Groden, 'Introduction: A Genesis of French Genetic Criticism', in Jed Deppman, Daniel Ferrer and Michael Groden, eds., *Genetic Criticism: Texts and Avant-texts* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pp. 1–16.

CHAPTER 7

Gender and sexuality

Marian Eide

'I hate intellectual women', James Joyce once complained to Mary Colum (*JJ* 529). Taken at face value this quip might present a serious challenge to women like Colum or me who have been inspired by and spent a great deal of time thinking about this author's work and who, by virtue of our desire to read his books, might of necessity be described as intellectual women. The easiest way to understand Joyce's lapse in judgement and manners would be to dismiss the statement either as ironic or as a flutter of annoyance preserved by virtue of his literary import and better forgotten. Indeed Richard Ellmann explains that Joyce was responding to Gertrude Stein who claimed, first, that *Three Lives* anticipated *Ulysses* and, second, that Joyce's influence was likely to be local and narrowly Irish. But Frank Budgen also records an egregious comment in which Joyce claims not just to hate intellectual women but actually to believe that we do not exist; in *James Joyce and the Making of 'Ulysses'* Budgen remembers his friend was unusually irritable when he opined that women "write books and paint pictures and compose and perform music". However, Joyce also asserted that there were limits to these intellectual accomplishments: "You have never heard of a woman who was the author of a complete philosophic system. No, and I don't think you ever will."¹ According to Ellmann Joyce also acknowledged: 'Throughout my life women have been my most active helpers' (*JJ* 634), suggesting that being good helpers might make up for women's inability to author complete philosophical systems. My aim in this essay is to consider both the meaning of Joyce's gendered hatred and its implications for concepts of masculinity.²

Joyce surrounded himself with intellectual women including his publisher Sylvia Beach, his patron Harriet Shaw Weaver and his editors Margaret Anderson and Maria Jolas, each of whom was influential in her own right in the intellectual worlds of Europe and the United States. But nothing in these associations definitively contradicts the possibility that his feeling toward these intellectual women was 'hate'. Budgen reminds readers that

the man who created Molly Bloom and Anna Livia Plurabelle could not have been a misogynist and writes of Joyce's sense that women have a 'perpetual urge to usurp all functions of the male'.³ With the resurgence of the women's movement, he noticed, intellectual women were denying that men had any separate functions that were not purely biological and his reaction to these putative claims was predictably defensive. As intellectual women were carving out new roles, life choices and individual practices of femininity, men, who had constructed masculinity in conjunction with and opposition to their female counterparts, found that the new wave of feminism called them to reconsider masculinity after the 'usurpations' of practices and privileges they had called their own. The turn of the century, then, introduced not just the New Woman but also the challenge to produce new masculinities.

While another version of femininity embodied in the wonderfully sensual and bodily women in Joyce's œuvre has received extensive attention in literary criticism of the last thirty years, Joyce's intellectual women have received very little notice. As Joyce's women readers will most often think of themselves as intellectual and because at least one of his most influential woman readers (Hélène Cixous) was arguably the author of a philosophical system, the role of the brainy woman might be not just an interesting but a necessary point of departure in understanding Joyce's approach to gender and sexuality.

Joyce's intellectual women readers have criticised him and defended him in turns, but we have continued to read him in ways that we refuse to consider his peers from D. H. Lawrence to Ernest Hemingway. Why do Joyce's intellectual women love to be hated? In his texts in which women with devoted lives of the mind are portrayed it is sometimes with hostility and sometimes with pity. These cerebral characters are consistently irritated and sometimes humiliated by the extent to which their demands to be taken seriously are met with resistance, condescension and even hostility. I would like to pose the possibility that Joyce really did hate intellectual women and that, in our turn, intellectual women have loved him. On some level we must know that while Joyce loved women, they were more likely to be women like his partner Nora Barnacle (who was no dope but also was not much of a reader) than women like Sylvia Beach (who made her living by her wit). While Molly Ivors and Beatrice Justice are marginal in his texts, his loving portrayals are lavished on Anna Livia Plurabelle and Molly Bloom. Of course, the portrayal of Mrs Bloom allows that she is smart and creative; she also has a fairly lucrative music career, but her husband has the intellectual goods. What is metempsychosis? Why it is Greek, of course,

'from the Greek. That means the transmigration of souls' (*U* 4.341–2). Done and done. Not much of a revolution there, no threat to Mr Bloom's primacy. When men are confronted with women who meet them publicly on their own ground – as does the less prominent Molly, Miss Ivors – when such women are not just intelligent but also accomplished and recognised, masculinity must find new ways of establishing itself as separate and distinct. Even a century later that marginal status looks to many readers like a proper execution of the demands of realism; Joyce's marginalised characters reflect the status of their historical counterparts, but they also gratify our aspirations with their irritable responses to being portrayed in this light. Each of them could be imagined launching a version of Molly Bloom's protests against her author: 'Oh Jamesy let me up out of this pooh' (*U* 18.1128–9). If Joyce hates his own intellectual female characters, he also allows them a place to reveal that hatred for what it is: a fear of gendered usurpation.

In other words, hating intellectual women was of a piece with what Joyce described to his friend Arthur Power as the primary political event of his time: 'the emancipation of women ... has caused the greatest revolution of our time in the most important relationship there is – that between men and women; the revolt of women against the idea that they are the mere instruments of men'.⁴ Hating intellectual women, Joyce acknowledged the threat we present to men's privilege. This hatred is compelling in that it suggests the author is meeting women on equal grounds that acknowledge the challenge our intelligence poses to any stable concept of masculine primacy. If the hostility and pity are familiar to us, their explicit representation is something like a relief.

The body of scholarship on gender and sexuality in Joyce's writing is both lengthy and rich. For the most part, however, critics have focused on the extraordinary physicality and eroticism of women. When feminist literary critics first turned their attention to Joyce's works, they found plenty of material in these corporeal figures to support charges of misogyny. Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar developed this position when they wittily described Molly Bloom as 'a choice of matter over mind'.⁵ Judith A. Specter made the case that women in Joyce's texts 'are limited to their physicality and preoccupied with their sexuality; they are assuredly not intellectuals or artists'.⁶ S. L. Goldberg argued that women in Joyce's works were reduced to mere 'biological symbols'.⁷ The frank description of prostitutes, the sexualizing images of young women and virgins (from the bird girl Stephen meets on the beach to Issy in *Finnegans Wake*) and the intimate portraits of a woman's erotic pleasure in the final monologues delivered by

Molly Bloom and ALP raised warning flags for many of his readers: once again woman's place was in the bedroom, her image serving only as an erotic vessel for men's needs.

Hélène Cixous reversed this trend by embracing the erotic woman as a figure of creativity and insight. In her lengthy dissertation, *The Exile of James Joyce*, and her subsequent writings on gender and sexuality, she advanced a defence of passion and the peripatetic imagination of passionate women as *écriture féminine*.⁸ She introduced the possibility that the 'Penelope' episode exemplified the practice of *écriture féminine* and that Molly's voice carries 'Ulysses off beyond any book and toward the new writing'.⁹ Cixous suggests that in pioneering a style proper to the narration of women's sexuality, Joyce broke new ground in the understanding and representation of women in modern fiction. While the recuperations of women's erotic knowledge in the French-influenced feminism of the turn of the last century answered the more repressive implications of earlier feminist criticism, and indicated the extent to which the sexual imagination might be understood as creative and intelligent, the gap between Joyce's cerebral men and his erotic women remained. As Carolyn G. Heilbrun, noted, 'Joyce had never heard and never could catch ... the voice of a woman passionately intellectual.'¹⁰ In the last decade, queer theory proposed yet another possibility for understanding Joyce's preoccupation with sexuality in the love that dare not speak its name and the men and boys, women and girls who flirted with that love and its proscribed practices. But Colleen Lamos notes Joyce's ambivalence toward the lesbian women of his own circle: 'he nevertheless perpetuated the obfuscating contradictions between lesbianism as a pathological, minority condition and as a universal temptation, between lesbians as cross-dressing man-haters and as sexy seductresses'.¹¹

In the space that is left to me, I'd like to suggest a preliminary consideration of the place of intellectual women in the sexual and gender politics of Joyce's texts and specifically to note the extent to which these women provoke a sea-change in their counterparts' experience of masculinity and manliness. What follows is a case study of one such encounter, followed by a brief listing of the implications of this case for our understanding of gender and sexuality throughout the *œuvre*. My primary focus will be on the most explicitly intellectual of the women in Joyce's texts and the effects her thinking has on a man who is her equal: Molly Ivors is disdained and dismissed *in absentia* when Gabriel toasts the three graces at the holiday dinner in *Dubliners*, but her nationalist suggestion stays with him after his wife goes to sleep. Gabriel's own masculinity is portrayed as both a fiction

and a negotiation, a series of failed approximations performed in response to continual threats to traditional constructions of his gender. Tracey Teets Schwarz describes the complex challenges to stable ideals of masculinity in the historical period represented in 'The Dead': 'definitions of manhood and masculinity fluctuated and evolved in response to various social challenges to patriarchal authority; such challenges led to the formation of a masculine discourse subtended by an anxious awareness of its own instability'.¹² Masculinity in this story is not a state of being so much as a continual effort of reflective self-presentation.

In 'The Dead' Gabriel Conroy is unsettled by a conversation with Molly Ivors at the Christmas party hosted by his aunts. The two have a great deal in common including parallel careers: they attended university at the same time and both worked as teachers. The narrator describes her as a 'frank-mannered talkative young lady, with a freckled face and prominent brown eyes. She did not wear a low-cut bodice and the large brooch which was fixed in the front of her collar bore on it an Irish device' (*D* 187). Describing the cut of her gown in the negative, the narrator indicates that Ivors' choice is not the norm: her bodice is cut to conceal rather than reveal. The brooch at her collar draws the eye upward to her throat and face and announces her nationalist allegiances with its traditional or heritage design. Her attire indicates the presentation of a particular gendered identity emerging at this period in Irish history (and more internationally as well, of course). Like many women of her class and with similar education, Ivors embraces the ideal of the emancipated Irish woman. From Maud Gonne to Constance Markiewicz, women were pursuing the twinned goals of Irish independence and gender equity; their interventions in public debate had equally inspiring and disturbing effects on the men in their circle. In other words, the change in roles brought with it an anxiety in relations in which men were forced to confront the loss of privileges they had never before questioned. When Joyce acknowledges the emancipation of women as the greatest revolution of his time, he both welcomes the changes it will bring about and registers anxiety in his 'hatred' of the women who were introducing those changes.

This common cultural response to the emancipation of women is registered fictionally when Gabriel partners Ivors in the dance; the interactive construction of gender identity is made more explicit as she calls him on the carpet for publishing in the imperialist press.

- I have found out that you write for *The Daily Express*. Now, aren't you ashamed of yourself?
- Why should I be ashamed of myself? asked Gabriel, blinking his eyes and trying to smile.

- Well, I'm ashamed of you, said Miss Ivors frankly. To say you'd write for a rag like that. I didn't think you were a West Briton. (*D* 188)

Perplexed by her accusation, Gabriel experiences a great dissonance between her criticism and his own great pleasure in being published in that 'rag'. To be commissioned to write literary reviews elevates him to the status of intellectual and provides an entrance to the world of public letters. Where once he had wandered among the used book stalls after teaching school, he now receives new books in the post and is even paid (very little) to read and review them. Ivors' quarrel with the publication venue is political; writing for a conservative paper whose editorial policy opposed independence, he unthinkingly declares a political allegiance that Ivors hopes he will reconsider. Gabriel would have liked to argue that 'literature was above politics' and that his reviews produced no political effects. But even as he imagines this defence he recognises it as a merely 'grandiose phrase' he cannot 'risk' on this woman who is his intellectual equal (*D* 188).

Ivors has already moved on to the second phase of her attack: she invites him to visit the beautiful Aran Islands with his west-coast-born wife in the hope that a journey to this region – thought to be least influenced by colonial occupation and the home of authentic Irish language and culture – will shift his political allegiances. Ivors' agenda is to persuade Gabriel to invest more in his own country, to know it better and to speak for it more directly. Her approach is by turns cajoling and flirtatious, frank and ironic. She takes his hand in her 'warm grasp', she speaks in a 'soft friendly tone', she jokes, but she also accuses: Gabriel does not know his own language; he is ignorant of his land and its people. When Gabriel defends himself by going on the attack – 'I'm sick of my own country, sick of it!' – Ivors is undaunted (*D* 190). At the end of the dance she flirtatiously stands on tiptoe to whisper in his ear the hated accusation 'West Briton!' and confesses to his wife, Gretta, that they've had 'words', insuring that the conversation will not be easily forgotten (*D* 190, 191).

What follows is the worst case of *l'esprit de l'escalier* in literary history as Gabriel spends the rest of the evening formulating and dismissing responses to her ripostes. Drawing this scene, Joyce portrays a kind of gendered conversation that was spreading across Europe in the early twentieth century. With the entrance of women in the professions and the possibility of universal suffrage, men were beginning routinely to meet women of their private acquaintance on public grounds of near equality. The effects were disturbing if not revolutionary as they altered not only the grounds of

femininity but also the assumptions of normative masculinity. If women are no longer 'mere instruments' but take up positions men have thought of as their own, will men also have to change and what will the new man be like? How is he to establish himself in relation to women? Joyce recognises this revolution in the discomfort and resistance it produces in Gabriel, whose masculinity is portrayed not as a stable identity but as a series of approximations and practical attempts launched in response to the demands he perceives from women.

Gabriel's masculinity is particularly fragile because he has chosen a career that, at the turn of century, was seen as partially effeminate. According to Richard Brown, 'literary work was not always recognized as an appropriately heroic masculine activity and was engaged in a constant struggle for legitimation against the more conventionally, especially military, modes of masculine activity'.¹³ That the literary career Gabriel pursues was his mother's aspiration for him taints this profession with her femininity. To be cerebral and to rise above labour are the demands of Gabriel's class, but they conflict partially with ideals of a more physical masculinity. Engaged in a profession that men of action have seen as effeminate, Gabriel is also forced by Ivors' suggestion to imagine that the power of his writing is compromised doubly by the ideological domination of masculine British imperialism and the new influences of Irish women writers.

Following his dispute with Ivors in which he is unable to register a coherent position, he takes refuge in the less demanding company of Mrs Malins and his aunts without ever successfully being able to 'banish from his mind all memory of the unpleasant incident with Miss Ivors' (*D* 191). By the time he raises his toast at the Christmas dinner, the preoccupation with rhetorically defeating her has entirely taken over his good intentions toward his relatives and the toast is more a criticism of the now departed intellectual woman he hates (if only a little): 'I fear that this new generation, educated or hypereducated as it is, will lack those qualities of humanity, of hospitality, of kindly humour which belonged to an older day' (*D* 204). The new generation he thus criticises includes not just his rival but also himself, and the toast is characterised by a rhetoric of litotes in which understatements are calculated to solicit an aggrandising contradiction in the listener. Gabriel can be fairly confident of that response among his female relatives who habitually grant him a ceremonial patriarchal place of authority in an extended family actually dominated by women.

Raising a toast to these women as the three graces, however, Gabriel replaces the one who had the most power over him with her less influential niece; the third Morkan sister and the eldest was his own mother, Ellen,

who was acknowledged as the 'brains carrier' (*D* 186) of the family and the motivation behind his university career. Gabriel's assumed intellectual superiority to his immediate community is made possible by the absence of his mother. Having taken this position on her death makes Ivors' rhetorical success in this encounter persistently disturbing. He cannot claim primacy on the ground carved out as masculine by the women in his family. Ivors neither recognises his territorial integrity nor respects his particular privilege; she challenges him on the ground he calls his own and with the instruments he reserves for his gender. And to add insult to injury, she does so while firmly staking out her own femininity with a dizzying performance of heterosexual flirtation. She is more seducer than seduced in both the dance and the conversation, thus usurping Gabriel's sexual primacy.

Disturbed for the remainder of the evening with the desire verbally to pierce the defences of his absent antagonist, he turns to his wife in the late hours for sexual solace that is remarkably aggressive, an approximation of a more traditional, bodily masculinity founded on sexual conquest. Though he knows that 'To take her as she was would be brutal' he also 'longed to cry to her from his soul, to crush her body against his, to overmaster her' (*D* 218). Gabriel's desire here is spurred in part by the need to re-establish his manliness through sexual performance. As Judith Butler has argued, normative gender is 'accomplished' or 'achieved' in compulsory acts of heterosexuality; gender then is more a practice of becoming than a state of being.¹⁴

Gretta responds to her husband's sexual need with a more cerebral preoccupation: narrating the story of her youthful romance turns his focus once more to the mind of a woman who seems to him unknowable, unconquerable and yet passionately arresting and compelling. If masculinity is being constructed in partnership with women, then Gabriel feels his doubled failure to achieve the two masculine ideals he perceives the women of his circle calling on him to exemplify: nationalist intellectual and romantic martyr. While neither Molly Ivors nor Gretta Conroy may intend these demands, Gabriel, often through resistance, engages their ideas as a challenge to his established masculinity.

In combination with Gretta's sentimentally moving story of her Galway romance, Ivors' invitation may have persuaded Gabriel. Of course, the most compelling readings of the final, haunting paragraph of 'The Dead' are metaphorical, but a literal reading is also available. Gabriel considers the possibility of changing his annual vacation plans: 'the time had come for him to set out on his journey westward', he thinks as he watches the snow that is general all over Ireland, an island he is now thinking of in its entirety as a place with a compelling history, deeply embedded in the beauty of its

landscape from the 'dark central plain' and 'treeless hills' to the 'Bog of Allen' and 'dark mutinous Shannon waves' (*D* 225). The shift in vacation plans represents a shift also in masculinity and the beginning of his incorporation of the two models of manliness he found implied in his conversations with women.

The impulse to go west, then, emerges as a mimetic desire to approximate Michael Furey's dynamic masculinity in an attempt to authenticate his own. Furey's self-sacrifice is tinged with allegorical nationalism in that it embodies the prevalent contemporary myth of the woman as figure of the nation calling Irish men to sacrifice for her independence. The allegory is exemplified most obviously in W. B. Yeats' play *Kathleen ni Houlihan*, but, as Homi K. Bhabha indicates, the idea of nationalist masculinity is also more prevalent and basic: '*amor patriae* – the naturalistic, phallic identification with the service of the nation'.¹⁵ One of the primary ways that men like Gabriel could exemplify this ideal at the turn of the century was, following Yeats' example, to write for the nation in a communal effort to establish a particularly Irish cultural context separate from the British imperial influence.

Like Molly Ivors, Beatrice Justice calls forth the *amor patriae* of an Irish writer, Richard Rowan, who is compelled to take part in the public, intellectual life of the emerging nation by returning to his home in Ireland. For Richard, Beatrice is a muse, though not of the passive sort one associates with classical tradition. Rather this muse spurs creativity through active processes of reception and critique. Richard says of his correspondence with Beatrice: 'I sent you from Rome the chapters of my book as I wrote them; letters for nine long years.' In this correspondence, 'you have watched me in my struggle'. Prodding her to recognise her position as model and muse, he asks: 'Tell me, Miss Justice, did you feel that what you read was written for your eyes? Or that you inspired me?' Beatrice responds elusively, 'I need not answer that question' (*PE* 121). That Beatrice is chosen as his correspondent is an indication of her intelligence, but Richard makes her suffer for it. He chooses a woman of lesser intellect as his partner while keeping himself in Beatrice's mind with nine years of letters. For her brains she is allowed to serve him but not to enjoy the pleasures of his connubial companionship or the respect of being acknowledged as his partner. Beatrice is always portrayed suffering in these pages and her friend seems almost to take pleasure in the pain he causes her. While Richard draws his creative inspiration from compelling a woman to read his words and respond to him, Joyce himself wrote to Nora 'I *know* and *feel* that if I am to write anything fine or noble in the future I shall do so only by listening at the doors of your heart' (*L* II 254). Joyce's inspiration is

drawn from listening rather than from being heard. Implicit in his portrait of Richard then is a critique of this character's dominant and unresponsive speech.

Where several of her predecessors served as muses, Issy in *Finnegans Wake* is scathing about this role in a footnote to the 'Nightlessons' when she writes offhandedly: 'That's the lethemuse but it washes off' (FW 272.34). Issy conflates the role of the muse with the death and forgetting of Lethe waters and promises her reader that the smirch of this burden can easily be washed away. She is also aware of the extent to which the artist would like to forget the muse and take sole credit for invention and creativity. Presenting her writing in the footnotes of this episode, Joyce chooses for the girl writer the most scholarly space on the page, that of reference to the vast body of accumulated knowledge.

In *Ulysses*, Dilly Dedalus expresses a desire to immerse herself in that body of knowledge, but her wish to pursue disciplined cerebral exercise is practised secretly and humiliated by discovery. Stephen Dedalus runs into Dilly in the bookcarts along Bachelors Quay where Gabriel once wandered and asks to see the used book she has just purchased:

He took the coverless book from her hand. Chardenal's French primer.
 – What did you buy that for? he asked. To learn French?
 She nodded, reddening and closing tight her lips. (U 10.869–71)

Stephen rarely asks such a stupid question as whether a French primer was purchased to learn the language. But given the poverty of her circumstances, he is amazed that his sister could have such a cerebral aim. Apparently he forgets that his own university education was pursued as the family moved from house to house, one step ahead of creditors. When he thinks of the family now selling his university texts for grocery money, he considers the loss of his past rather than the threat to Dilly's future. Does she have time to read her brother's books before she sells them? For Dilly the educational aim is humiliating, she closes her lips tightly against a retort or defence, silent except for her acquiescence. While Stephen may see his sister only as a spur to familial guilt and accept her intelligence only as a 'Shadow of my mind' (U 10.866), Joyce records the humiliation of women's desiring to know while being thought beneath the notice of education.

The hatred and humiliation such intellectual women suffer is certainly not always a man's veiled means of admitting his counterpart's equality, but in many cases hatred is an anxious reaction to a feeling of incursion, of being called upon to relinquish privilege. Homi K. Bhabha argues that this 'anxiety is a "sign" of a danger implicit in/on the threshold of identity, in

between claims to coherence and its fears of dissolution'.¹⁶ In other words, gendered anger comes in part from a realisation that the stable sense of masculine identity is a fiction maintained both by constant iterations of the identity and by collusion from femininity. Joyce's explicit hatred of intellectual women as recorded by his early biographers may have been a temporary, visceral reaction, but it was also an indication of his acknowledgement that women of his generation were no longer performing their collusion in traditional ways, but were meeting men on equal terms. That meeting called upon men to reconsider the ways in which they defined their difference from women, the difference on which their masculinity was grounded.

NOTES

1. Frank Budgen, 'Further Recollections of James Joyce', in *James Joyce and the Making of 'Ulysses', and Other Writings* [1934] (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 354.
2. There is still much work to be done in this area of gender studies as Christine van Boheeman-Saaf and Colleen Lamos, eds., noted in their *Masculinities in Joyce: Postcolonial Constructions*, European Joyce Studies 10 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001). They pointed out that 'the representation of masculinity in Joyce, the ideological and textual structures by which it is supported and defined, its cultural and political constraints, have not yet received much critical attention. One of the reasons for the hesitancy to broach this rich subject ... may be that Joyce studies has been marked by an unusually strong interest in feminism and Joyce's representation of women' (pp. 7–8).
3. Budgen, 'Further Recollections of James Joyce', p. 354.
4. Arthur Power, *Conversations with James Joyce* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1999), p. 44.
5. Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, 'Sexual Linguistics: Gender, Language, Sexuality', *New Literary History* 16 (1985): 518.
6. Judith A. Specter, 'On Defining a Sexual Aesthetic: A Portrait of the Artist as Sexual Antagonist', *Midwest Quarterly* 26 (1984): 83.
7. S. L. Goldberg, *The Classical Temper: A Study of James Joyce's Ulysses* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1961), p. 159.
8. Helene Cixous, *The Exile of James Joyce* (New York: David Lewis, 1972).
9. Helene Cixous, 'The Laugh of the Medusa', trans. Keith Cohen and Paula Cohen, *Signs* 1.4 (Summer 1976): 884.
10. Carolyn G. Heilbrun, *Hamlet's Mother and Other Women* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), p. 65.
11. Colleen Lamos, "'A Faint Glimmer of Lesbianism" in Joyce', in Joseph Valente, ed., *Quare Joyce* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), pp. 196–7.
12. Tracey Teets Schwartz, "'Do You Call That a Man?": The Culture of Anxious Masculinity in *Ulysses*', in van Boheeman-Saaf and Lamos, eds., *Masculinities in Joyce*, p. 113.

13. Richard Brown, “‘As if a Man Were Author of Himself’: Literature, Mourning and Masculinity in “The Dead””, in van Boheeman-Saaf and Lamos, eds., *Masculinities in Joyce*, p. 78.
14. Judith Butler, ‘Melancholy Gender/Refused Identification’, in Maurice Berger, Brian Wallis and Simon Watson, eds., *Constructing Masculinity* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), p. 24.
15. Homi K. Bhabha, ‘Are You a Man or a Mouse?’, in Berger, Wallis and Watson, eds., *Constructing Masculinity*, p. 59.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

CHAPTER 8

Psychoanalysis

Luke Thurston

Joyce est un affreud: with a characteristically untranslatable pun Jacques Lacan, speaking to his seminar on 16 March 1976, took up an old notion which had been recently re-echoed by some writers at the journal *Tel Quel*: the notion that the supposed semiotic ‘equivalence’ of the names of Joyce and Freud – both names, of course, enciphering ‘joy’ – marks the two figures as exemplars of revolutionary modernity, purveyors of disruptive *écriture*.¹ Lacan’s prefix, however, would seem to turn his punning point *against* the kind of ‘link’ which had been celebrated by writers like Sollers and Kristeva: for if Joyce were an *affreud*, he would not so much be ‘a Freud’ as an anti-Freud, the very opposite of what Freud stood for; and as such perhaps *affreux*, ‘frightful’ or even ‘joyless’ (a sense Lacan underlines by adding ‘Et il est un ajoyce’).²

Now, Lacan was undoubtedly aware that in jocosseriously raising the question of the ‘freudful’ status of Joyce he was revisiting one of the *lieux communs* of Joycean criticism. It is usually the antagonism or incompatibility of Joyce and Freud that provides a starting-point for a critical account of the relations, whether actual or potential, between Joyce’s work and psychoanalysis (conceived of either as a set of ideas or as an interpretive practice). However determinedly orthodox the effort may be to apply psychoanalytic theory to Joyce’s texts – and such ‘dogmatic’ efforts still continue today – it can hardly avoid giving an initial account of the manifest hostility to psychoanalysis shown by Joyce himself (as recorded by Ellmann): from his anecdotal disparagement of it as ‘neither more nor less than blackmail’ (*JF* 524) to the well-known list of belittling or parodic references to it throughout his writing; as a nonsense-machine invented by Tweedledum and Tweedledee, and so on.

At the level of critical biography, then, if Joyce’s anti-Freudianism is the starting-point, it would seem to point to an interpretive dead-end or impasse; and every Joycean critic with an interest in psychoanalytic reading is left to find a way to negotiate this impasse. The figure of Carl Jung is

perhaps exemplary here, as a spokesman for this supposed non-relation or aporia: as I have argued elsewhere, the twin attempts by Jung to engage with or 'treat' matters Joycean – first as reader of *Ulysses*, then as doctor of Joyce's schizophrenic daughter Lucia – each results in a masterly declaration that the Joycean problem is untreatable, the enigma essentially beyond analysis.³

For Joyceans today, of course, nothing should be untreatable, and there can be no conceivable end to the analysis. As we shall see, however, the point marked on one side by Joyce's unrelenting hostility to psychoanalysis, and on the other by Jung's 'diagnostic' withdrawal from analytic interpretation – the point, in other words, of a biographical aporia that would rule out any possible dialogue between the Joycean and psychoanalytic enterprises – has returned in some recent critical interventions; but now as the hallmark of an authentic 'encounter' between Joyce and psychoanalysis. Before we attempt to unravel the complex irony implicit in this return of a Joyce 'beyond analysis', however, we should first explore how an earlier generation of critics saw in the Freudian legacy a crucial interpretive resource for engaging with the Joycean text, a way to shed light on both its deliberate authorial strategies and its 'secret scripture' (*FW* 293 n2), its enigmatic exposure or inscription of the unconscious.

Psychoanalysis itself, of course, was variously transformed and reinvented in the period between Joyce's death and the first wave of Joycean critics we will consider, those for whom psychoanalysis became a key reference in the 1970s. As a new critical model of interdisciplinary reading known as structuralism began to impact on Anglophone Joyce studies in that decade, it offered what seemed an ideal methodology for rethinking the Freudian discovery in terms relevant to literary analysis, in particular to the problem of biography (and thus to the ostensible impasse of Joyce 'versus' psychoanalysis). For Margot Norris, writing in 1976, the new 'self-reflexive criticism' made possible by structuralism

presupposes that the organization of psychic and social life is based on similar unconscious laws and that the structures that underlie various human activities – language, family relationships, religious worship, social communications, for example – are therefore isomorphic. Consequently, relationships rather than substance, structures rather than contents, provide significant sources of meaning in human institutions and systems of communication.⁴

In terms of the history of psychoanalytic thinking, this shift of interpretive matrix from substance to structure clearly corresponds to the teaching of Lacan in the 1950s and the early 1960s. The 'decentred universe' read by Norris in *Finnegans Wake* is indeed strictly analogous, with its psychic-social 'unconscious laws', to the law-governed unconscious itself, as

reformulated by Lacan in such writings as 'The Instance of the Letter in the Unconscious, or Reason since Freud' (1957). 'The dream-work', Lacan had declared there, 'proceeds in accordance with the laws of the signifier': so that the terms used by Freud for dream-analysis, *Verschiebung* and *Verdichtung*, 'displacement' and 'condensation', could be re-envisaged as rhetorical tropes, renamed metonymy and metaphor.⁵ For Norris, this provided a crucial new resource for reading the 'traumscript' (*FW* 623.33) or dream-textuality of Joyce's final work:

In devising a language to explore the world of the dream, Joyce made a discovery that was facilitated by the works of Freud, and whose full implications have only recently been explored by psychoanalysts like Jacques Lacan and linguists like Roman Jakobson. This discovery was the correspondence between traditional poetic devices and the processes of dream-formation.⁶

The age-old tropes and figures of *Dichtung*, in other words, could now be grouped together with unconscious *Verdichtung*, since the latter had been redefined by Lacan as the metaphorical superimposition of signifiers. Indeed, in this perspective the peculiar language of *Finnegans Wake*, ostensibly forged by Joyce with the specific aim of embodying the dream-world, could now be given a much wider hermeneutic and political significance: it became a window not only on the madness of nocturnal reverie or 'ravery' (*FW* 338.29) but on the universal decentring of human being-in-language: 'The substitutability of parts for one another, the variability and uncertainty of [*Finnegans Wake's*] structural and thematic elements, represent a decentred universe, one that lacks the center that defines, gives meaning, designates, and holds the structure together – by holding it in immobility.'⁷

It was above all Lacan's memorable declaration that 'man's desire is the desire of the Other'⁸ – in other words, that the fantasmatic life of the self-misrecognising ego should be understood as fully bound up with, determined by, the alienating structures of the symbolic order – which informed and legitimated the innovative 'structuralist analysis' of Joyce undertaken by Norris.

In terms of methodology, what structuralism dealt with very effectively – or so it seemed in the 1970s – was the 'I', as self-declarative subject or authorial ego, in all its intransigence, its unaccountable singularity. If, as Colin MacCabe was to claim in 1979, the 'I' were considered merely a signifier sliding unstopably across the multiple surfaces of the Other's discourse, it could never be plausibly tied to any given statement by a subject, let alone ascribed to the so-called author of the text (who had, at any rate, been safely buried by Roland Barthes in 1968).⁹ Thus, for MacCabe, the preoccupation in *Ulysses* of Stephen Dedalus with the elusive identity of things and of selves

should be viewed as no more than a sign of that character's profoundly ideological, deluded self, with what MacCabe sees as Stephen's 'longing to establish an immutable "I" for himself'¹⁰ ceaselessly exposed as vain by the semiotic displacements and slippages going on in the text around him. Never mind the intellectual subtlety of Stephen's self-meditation, with its references to scholastic theology and idealist philosophy: all this counts for nothing, in MacCabe's eyes, when weighed against its fundamentally ideological orientation. Thus, rather than seeing in Stephen's character a Joycean reflection on the central paradox of 'I' – its impossible conjunction of an iterative textuality and a singular event of consciousness – MacCabe chose to restate the problem of Joycean identity as a binary opposition, repeatedly branded 'political', between imaginary fixity and semiotic mutability. 'Language', declares MacCabe, before a long quotation from Lacan, 'institutes a space (available for fantasy) in which the subject can never grasp its own constitution.'¹¹ Nevertheless, we might respond, what we see in *Ulysses* is at least one character *trying* to 'grasp its own constitution', to reflect coherently on the protean interconnectedness of language, self and world; and to dismiss that complex reflection as a mere hankering for an originary plenitude or ideological self-possession is massively to oversimplify whatever 'revolution of the word' or transformation of reading may be at stake in Joyce's work.

If an interpretive shift from substance to structure determined the perspective of critics in the 1970s like Norris and MacCabe, then, the result could be a mixture of blindness and insight, an opening of the Joycean text to a general semiotics that cast new light on it but also risked overlooking its particularity, its singular signature. From such a structuralist perspective, Joyce appeared as a radically decentred textuality, a volatile space of non-identity, of writerly dissemination; and any trace of self-cogitation in the text was held to be no more than an implicit critique of the thoroughly ideological, obsolete universe of the ego. An essential theoretical reference for this structuralist re-orientation of reading, of course, was Lacan: but it was a particular Lacan, namely Lacan the *theorist of desire* (not the only Lacan, as we will see). Thus, MacCabe enthusiastically quotes Lacan's rejection of the whole late-Freudian notion of the unconscious as id – that is, as something *obtus, lourd, caliban, voire animal* shoving its way up from the primeval depths – in favour of a theory of pure desire, conceived of as the bodiless consequence of the fact that 'language ... escapes the subject in its structure and its effects'.¹²

However, while MacCabe could easily couple this desire-Lacan to his own 'political' rhetoric of the 'abandonment of positivist notions of identity',¹³ at the same time his work was haunted by *another* Lacan, one whom we can just make out if we look from the right perspective. Thus, after

McCabe has congratulated Lacan for his 'constant and serious attention to literature', duly noting the famous Seminar on 'The Purloined Letter', he adds something that makes this other-Lacan begin to appear:

More directly to our purpose, the last five years [i.e. 1973–8] have witnessed an ever increasing reference to Joyce in Lacan's work. When *Le Séminaire XI* ... was published, Lacan included a postscript written in January 1973, in which he reflected on the fate of his earlier written work. The *Écrits*, Lacan claimed, had been sold but had not been read, nor was this surprising as they had been written not to be read.¹⁴

So Lacan was not, in 1973, *complaining* that his work had not been read by an ignorant public, but rather reflecting that not-being-read was its proper 'fate' as writing, as *écrit*: as if in his view writing now constituted something *alien* to the logic of interpretation. If at this point we look back to one of the central axioms of structuralism – that being-in-language is radically decentred, not by any positive characteristic or substance, but by the very structure of signification – we catch a glimpse of how much has changed by the 1970s in the Lacanian interpretation of language. For, in structuralism, *everything* is to be read – myth, dream, ritual, advertisement, pop-song or sonnet – according to a single interpretive method (we recall Norris' remark on the 'isomorphic' structures of human culture). The notion that a written text could be in any sense *pas à lire*, 'not to be read' – and Lacan was to re-iterate this claim in 1975, and link it specifically to Joyce's writing – such a notion is completely non-structuralist, or (as is usually said) 'post-structuralist'.

MacCabe does not seem to have been aware though, in 1979, that he was roping together two quite different, indeed incommensurable, 'Lacanian' views of writing, and thus of Joyce. How, after all, could Lacan's idea that Joyce is properly unreadable (an idea, again, he introduced in the mid-1970s) be yoked back to the theories of the structuralist Lacan (developed in the 1950s and early 1960s), according to which the laws of signification were, precisely, structural, that is, operated with no regard for any individual peculiarities? MacCabe goes on to quote Lacan's extravagant declaration in 1973 that *l'écrit comme pas-à-lire*, unreadable writing, was 'introduced' – introduced, as it were, untranslatably – by none other than Joyce;¹⁵ before doing his best to shoe-horn such a bizarre idea into his overall Marxist-structuralist framework: 'One can gloss this negative claim [that a text could be "written not to be read"] as a description of a practice of writing which displaces reading as a passive consumption of a signified (meaning) and transforms it into an active organisation of signifiers (material images).'¹⁶

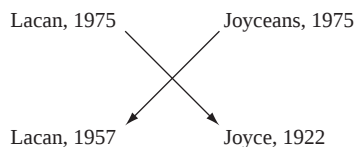
Perhaps that sounds quite plausible; but in fact MacCabe drastically underestimated the radical shift of perspective performed by Lacan's late,

anti-structuralist work. For, as has subsequently become clear, the Joyce invoked by Lacan in the mid-1970s was valued precisely in so far as his writing had *nothing to do with* the signifier, opened on to what is radically excluded, foreclosed, from the semiotic field of the unconscious, and thus of analytic interpretation.

This brings us to what we can now see as one of the strangest ironies of modern literary theory, namely the chiasmic ‘exchange’ that took place in the mid-1970s between the Lacanian and the Joycean worlds. We could perhaps pinpoint the 1975 Joyce Symposium, held in Paris, as the defining moment of this chiasmus: for it was there that Lacan gave, as the opening address, his *Joyce le symptôme*, a text which would be the starting-point of the subsequent year-long engagement with Joyce in the seminar he entitled *Le sinthome*. What, then, was so ironic about this conversation between Lacan and the critical community of Joycean scholars? It became apparent in June 1975 – at least to those who could discern, through all of Lacan’s jokes and cryptic allusions, any of the claims he was making about Joyce – that the figure of ‘Joyce the symptom’ he was sketching bore little resemblance to the familiar exemplar of decentred textuality who had been described, under the aegis of ‘Lacanian’ structuralism, by critics like Norris and MacCabe. Far from Joyce, in the view of this older Lacan, revealing through his writing the implacable logic of unconscious signification – in the manner, say, of Poe with his ‘Purloined Letter’ – the writer of *Ulysses* had nothing whatever to do with the unconscious: he was entirely *désabonné à l’inconscient*, ‘disinvested’ from the signifying structure of the Freudian subject.

In 1975, then, at the very moment when Anglophone Joycean critics were trying to articulate Joyce’s writing with Lacan’s theoretical work from earlier decades on the unconscious as the structural matrix of desire-in-language, Lacan himself was looking back to Joyce and finding there something unreadable, an untreatable ‘symptom’ or singularity: something, in other words, fundamentally at odds with the defining theses of structuralism, and of his own structuralist reinvention of psychoanalysis.

We can sketch this chiasmus of retrospection as follows:



From either side of the chiasmus, as it were, the other side appeared absurd: either outdated, ill-informed or simply quixotic. From Lacan's point of view, to invoke the twin concepts of the unconscious and of signifying structure in order to make possible a new reading of Joyce's work was radically to misconstrue that work – to overlook, above all, its singular status as a challenge to analytic interpretation, a fundamental *defiance* of the ordinary logic of the signifier and of the normal-neurotic unconscious it governed. While, on the Joycean side – and this has been very well captured by Jean-Michel Rabaté, looking back at his own 'unease' on first hearing Lacan talk about Joyce in 1975¹⁷ – the sight of the old psychoanalytic master at the Sorbonne lectern offering a kind of potted psychobiography of Joyce, with the traditional Freudian equation of artwork and symptom rounded off by the old slur about Joyce's 'madness', was a vision of a thinker completely out of touch with the whole development of modern criticism.

In a sense, then, Paris 1975 was a dialogue of the deaf. On the one hand the assembled Joycean scholars had no inkling that Joyce's name had come to emblemise everything that had changed in Lacan's thinking since the 1960s – above all, his transformed conception of being-in-language and thus of his completely new psychoanalytic account of literature; while, on the other, Lacan himself seemed to have little awareness of how, if his foray into the Joycean universe were not to seem a mere folly of old age, he had a veritable mountain of Joycean exegesis and theorisation to conquer.

Today, of course, following a plethora of critical accounts and appraisals, it is much easier to integrate Lacan's work on Joyce into the field of Joyce studies (and one soon learns to distrust everything implied by a phrase like 'Lacan's work on Joyce'). But what I want to argue is that the re-orientation of Lacanian thinking I have indicated as a contrast between 1957 and 1975 – that is, a contrast between a signifying Other which offered a conceptual matrix to structuralist poetics and an asemic One, the name of Joyce *le sinthome* – that this Lacanian re-orientation in effect corresponds to a shift away from the articulable, towards the 'unspeakable': in short, *a shift from theory to practice*.

Now, this development can also be seen as a move 'post'-structuralism, and indeed it appears as a precise dialectical reversal of the interpretive move from substance to structure we saw defining the structuralist views of Joyce set out by Margot Norris and Colin MacCabe. But what is striking here is how this shift in psychoanalytic thinking corresponded to a wider transition in the field of criticism, which we could describe as a move from general theorising to particular treatments. In Joyce studies, this development is clearly reflected in the emergence of so-called 'genetic' studies, where textual

exegesis is linked not to governing theoretical propositions but to the documentary evidence of Joyce's actual life as a writer (and as a reader), as recorded in his notebooks, drafts, letters, book purchases and so on. In the field of genetic Joyce studies, that is to say, theoretical arguments are to be rigorously subordinated to the archival reconstruction of Joycean *practice*.

If then, after the heyday of Theory in the 1970s, the subsequent decades have seen scholars become more wary of making grand theoretical claims in their readings of literary texts, one could have perhaps expected the reference to psychoanalysis in Joyce studies to have faded away. In fact, almost the opposite has been the case: the re-orientation of Joyce studies, from reading a text predominantly through general theories of subjectivity and language to approaching that text as a dense, archival *resistance* to theory, has given psychoanalytic practice – a site where discourse collides with the unspeakable, where memory, identification and fantasy emerge and merge – a singular new relevance to our project of understanding Joyce.

Moreover, as was rapidly discovered by 'genetic' scholars, what actually fascinated Joyce about the Freudian textual corpus, and what he drew on most in his own writing, were the archival traces of psychoanalytic practice, for instance those recorded in the five great Freudian case histories. As Daniel Ferrer showed in a 1985 article, Joyce read and annotated these Freudian texts during his 'Work in Progress'; and Ferrer could thus argue for a significant intertextual nexus linking Chapters Fifteen and Sixteen of *Finnegans Wake* to Freud's 'Wolf Man' case history.¹⁸ The libidinous wolves ("Wooluvs no less!": *FW* 479.15–16) that swarm in Chapter Fifteen of the *Wake*, in a landscape thick with references to psychoanalysis, should be read, argues Ferrer, as traces of the Wolf Man's fantasmatic primal scene – several white wolves sitting in a tree, seen through a window – which was reconstructed and analysed by Freud and his analysand: an artefact of memory and fantasy, trauma and interpretation, something which is precisely *not* reducible to any 'theory' but retains its density as a specific object of praxis, a singular event of *jouissance*.

It thus became apparent that the real 'link' between Joyce and psychoanalysis lay not so much in Freudian theory alone as in the recalcitrant anamorphic *objects* that inhabit that theory, that simultaneously provoke and challenge it: dreams, fantasmatic scenes, misrememberings, primal symptoms. What is arguably distinctive, indeed, about psychoanalysis is that it is not only a set of ideas for interpreting the human subject, but, on the contrary, above all a means of *maintaining the other* in that 'subject', of preventing the self-theorising desire of the subject from making too much

sense, from translating too swiftly or unambiguously the specific dimension of its internal otherness.

Another critic in the 1980s who grasped the importance of this 'anti-hermeneutic' dimension of psychoanalysis¹⁹ for Joycean writing was John Bishop. In *Joyce's Book of the Dark* (1986) Bishop explored how the Wakean 'intrepidation of our dreams' (*FW* 338.29) drew on Freud's equivocal blend of intrepid scientific enquiry and innovative (implicitly anti-hermeneutic) reading techniques:

Particularly because the only real evidence of 'dreaming' comes in the dark language of these 'murmurable' 'murmoirs' ... some interpretive technique *distinct* from those brought to bear on consciously constructed narratives will be essential to a reading of what Joyce called his 'imitation of the dream-state'; and *The Interpretation of Dreams* offers not simply the most intricately developed and detailed example of such a technique, but also an account ... of alternative interpretive techniques as well.²⁰

Thus, although Joyce emphatically did not adopt a Freudian view of dreams, he saw in Freud's book at once a precious record of the 'clearobs-cure' (*FW* 247.32) phenomena of dreaming and the testimony to a valiant theoretical struggle to make the dream itself 'murmurable' – to make it speak, if not exactly meaningfully, then at least in a way that could be coherently related to unconscious memory, to the remnance and resistance of the other.

Bishop's work is thus able to register the anti-hermeneutic importance of psychoanalysis, as an equivocal site of 'dark language' rather than a source of theoretical enlightenment, within a broader account of Joycean textual practice. A comparable perspective is adopted a decade later by John Rickard in *Joyce's Book of Memory* (1998). For Rickard, psychoanalysis should be seen as a vital resource in our engagement with the 'mnemotechnic' or psychical-textual archive of *Ulysses*, not because Freudian theory offers solutions to any Joycean riddles but rather due to the psychoanalyst's exemplary refusal to dissolve, to theorise away, the textual density of memory itself: 'No one has done more', as Rickard puts it, 'to problematize and articulate the connections between narrative and psyche than Joyce's Viennese contemporary.'²¹ Rickard traces the development of Freud's thinking from the 'hermeneutic confidence' of his early approach to memory – his belief in the therapeutic efficacy of anamnesis, the curative power of recovering the repressed memories of real events – to his late 'narrative model' of memory, where the remembered scene becomes a construct of analysis: in other words, where it acquires a *textual* status.²² It is this last concept of memory, as what Joyce might have called a 'factification',

which marks the relevance of late Freudian thinking to Joyce's work, according to Rickard. The textuality of memory – its semiotic openness and mutability, its unfinishedness and elusiveness – makes it, in this sense, a good model for the text of *Ulysses* itself (and vice versa, of course). Rickard's judicious reference to psychoanalysis thus avoids making it either, on the one hand, a theoretical key to Joyce, or, on the other, merely yet another inter-textual item with no specific conceptual weight of its own. By thus plotting a course between Scylla and Charybdis, Rickard is able to indicate a properly Joycean sense of psychoanalysis as the scene of an unforgettable other.

What the studies by Ferrer, Bishop and Rickard show, then, is that the best recent work on Joyce and psychoanalysis views the latter not as a means to dispel the obscurity of the Joycean text but as another way to gauge the true sense of that obscurity, to trace how Joyce discovered and developed it through an encounter with signifying otherness, with what insists in language and memory beyond the familiar syntax of legibility. Jean-Michel Rabaté's *James Joyce and the Politics of Egoism* (2001) is a more recent work that sets out along similar lines to explore the fraught encounter between psychoanalysis and Joycean writing without reducing the specific textual force of either term. Rabaté starts by pursuing the provocative challenge of Lacan's 1975 intervention into the Joycean universe, noting how the idea of Joyce as unreadable *sinthome* gave a new salience to the problem of the ego (an instance which in structuralism, as we recall from MacCabe's work, had been dismissed as redundant, pre-theoretical): 'Lacan's concept of *jouissance* – so important to grasp Joyce's new knots – is fundamentally egoistical, since it occupies the opposite pole of a desire marked by the Law of the Other.'²³

And Rabaté goes on to explore the fate of Joycean egoism – at times inspired and ecstatic, at others socially awkward, even toxic – contrasting it with what he terms Joycean 'hospitality', the opening to textual and linguistic otherness; he reads the antagonism of these terms across a wide range of political and cultural sites, from debates on national and racial identity to texts on sexology and aesthetics, all of which can be seen to provide crucial contexts for Joyce as both writer and self-defining ego.

What is above all made clear by Rabaté's work is that the 'dialogue of the deaf' we saw staged in Paris at the 1975 Joyce Symposium, that this point of non-communication was not the last word on the viability of a critical exchange between Joyce and psychoanalysis. To accept Lacan's notion that *Joyce est un affreud* – to endorse, in other words, his uncompromising rejection of the whole idea that psychoanalytic theory could be applied to Joyce – is not, therefore, to close down the possibility of that critical

exchange; but, rather, to shift it from the sterile coherence of theory toward the interminable utterance of the other's voice.

NOTES

1. For the pun on which this was based, see *JJ* 628 (n80).
2. Jacques Lacan, *Le sinthome*, Seminar 23, texte établi par J.-A. Miller, 16/3/76, p. 33.
3. See Luke Thurston, *James Joyce and the Problem of Psychoanalysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 133–48.
4. Margot Norris, *The Decentred Universe of Finnegans Wake: A Structuralist Analysis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), pp. 3–4.
5. Jacques Lacan, 'The Instance of the Letter in the Unconscious, or Reason since Freud', in *Écrits: A Selection*, trans. B. Fink (New York: Norton, 2002), p. 152.
6. Norris, *Decentred Universe*, p. 100.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
8. Jacques Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis, Seminar 11*, trans. A. Sheridan (London: Hogarth Press, 1977), p. 235.
9. Colin MacCabe, *James Joyce and the Revolution of the Word* (London: Macmillan 1979), pp. 118–19.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
17. Jean-Michel Rabaté, *Jacques Lacan: Psychoanalysis and the Subject of Literature* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2001), p. 159.
18. Daniel Ferrer, 'The Freudful Couchmare of ^d: Joyce's notes on Freud and the Composition of Chapter XVI of *Finnegans Wake*', *JJQ* 22.4 (1985): 367–82.
19. See Jean Laplanche, 'Psychoanalysis as Anti-Hermeneutics', trans. Luke Thurston, *Radical Philosophy* 79 (Sept./Oct. 1996): 7–12.
20. John Bishop, *Joyce's Book of the Dark: Finnegans Wake* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), p. 16.
21. John S. Rickard, *Joyce's Book of Memory: The Mnemotechnic of Ulysses* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), p. 48.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 48–51.
23. Jean-Michel Rabaté, *James Joyce and the Politics of Egoism* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 10.

CHAPTER 9

Post-colonialism

Gregory Castle

‘musics of the futures’

(FW 407.32–3)

When Joyce wrote *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, he left behind a first draft, *Stephen Hero*. In that earlier text, the protagonist, Stephen Daedalus, muses on the ‘Mongolian types’ of the Irish peasantry. In *A Portrait*, however, these musings no longer appear. In this revision of an earlier error, Joyce recognises what his protagonist had missed: that the colonised, who feels superior because of his ‘metropolitan features’ (SH 244), has ‘disappeared’ into the person of the coloniser.¹ By virtue of this recognition, *A Portrait* becomes transferential in Slavoj Žižek’s sense of the word: it serves as a pedagogical site in which the erroneous perceptions of the past (about tradition, nationalism, authenticity) are revealed as the necessary illusions that ultimately constitute the ‘truth’ of colonial Ireland. For Žižek, social events are often not recognised as essential to historical development because they appear as aberrations; only later can a ‘true’ recognition of their importance occur, a recognition grounded necessarily in the initial *mis*recognition. Joyce’s *Portrait* thus constitutes a repetition of a ‘failed’ past, a textual event that serves as ‘repayment of the symbolic debt’ of that past, the ‘final recognition’ of its historical ‘truth’.² As Stephen notes in *Ulysses*, ‘errors are volitional and are the portals of discovery’ (U 9.229). Sheldon Brivic, referring to Joyce’s use of language as error, neatly restates Žižek’s point: ‘There is a recognition that cannot be reached without error, the recognition of change.’³ This recognition, this propensity for volitional error, marks Joyce’s texts as post-colonial *avant le lettre*, for in them a ‘final recognition’ of Ireland’s uncertain future finds its adumbration. *Finnegans Wake* provides an apt emblem for this process in Shaun’s ‘frithing tube’, which reveals ‘the memories of the past and the hicnuncs of the present embellishing the musics of the futures’ (FW 407.31–3).

Of signal importance for any consideration of Joyce as a post-colonial writer is the status of the term *post-colonial*, a term that both announces and challenges the socio-historical affiliations between post-colonial nations and the history of colonialism that persists in the form of neo-colonial relations. The distinction between the term and the theory it designates captures this duplicity. 'If post-colonial *theory* has sought to challenge the grand march of Western historicism and its entourage of binaries (self–other, metropolis–colony, centre–periphery, etc.)', Anne McClintock writes, 'the *term* post-colonialism nonetheless reorients the globe once more around a single binary opposition: colonial–postcolonial.'⁴ To be sure, the binary inscribed in the term haunts post-colonial theory, but recent work in Irish studies tends to problematise binarity by focusing on contradictory, multiple and fluid historical conditions and social spaces. In David Lloyd's estimation post-colonial critics and historians uncover 'the multiple histories of social practices and cultural formations that were strictly irrepresentable' in terms of 'developmental historiography'.⁵ At the same time, they resist the temptation to regard 'recalcitrant' elements of the nationalist imaginary – that is, social groups that do not conform to nationalist idealisations – as anti-modern atavistic forces. Such elements need to be theorised as an irreducible part of the contemporary moment. Indeed, their contemporaneity defines them neither as modern nor as archaic but rather as occupying the differential – and transferential – space of *non-modernity*.⁶

The non-modern designates neither a rejection of modernity nor a privileging of pre-modern traditions but rather a recognition that what is *pre-modern* is a necessary condition for the emergence of the modern post-colonial nation. This acceptance of 'recalcitrant', pre-modern elements in the modernising process of post-colonial nation building flies in the face of a conception of modernity understood in Enlightenment terms as the abolition of that which is *not* modern. The non-modern, therefore, designates a contemporary moment that resists modernity even as it assimilates modernising tendencies. This paradoxical and contradictory socio-historical condition exists not only in post-colonial territories, where relations of power are complicated by colonial histories and neo-colonial obligations, but also in underdeveloped parts of Europe, like parts of Spain and southern Italy, where relations of power are similarly complicated by imperial histories and regional and ethnic differences. Ireland's non-modernity, bound up with a recognition of a constitutive atavism, does not therefore make Ireland a historical 'exception'.⁷ To be sure, Ireland's position in the history and geography of Empire is distinct: it lies in very close proximity to the imperial centre and shares linguistic, cultural, social and political traditions with it.

Moreover, after the Act of Union in 1800, Ireland (or at least Anglo-Ireland) enjoyed an administrative relation with England, but this very relation underscores the features of Irish colonial history that it shares with all other colonies, for the ruling Anglo-Protestants, who descended from early English and Scottish settlers, were defined by their social and cultural (even, in some important ways, racial) differences from the indigenous Gaelo-Catholic Irish. These latter were in fact subjected to precisely the kinds of colonial oppression that marked the experience of colonised groups throughout the Empire. While we might adopt Joseph Valente's conception of the 'metrocolonial' to designate Ireland's unique geo-cultural position within the Empire,⁸ we should not by doing so ignore the relevance for Ireland of a global understanding of colonialism. The mechanisms of colonial power and discourse are sufficiently similar across diverse locations as to justify the transposition of theoretical concepts and arguments from one to another.

One of the chief characteristics of post-colonial Joyce studies is the variety of theoretical perspectives. Mark Wollaeger discerns two distinct methodologies: the theoretical (or 'analytic') and the rhetorical (or 'tropic'). He praises the latter for developing the terms of critical analysis from tropes found in literary texts; the former presents some difficulties, if only because he believes that history is 'attenuated' in many theoretical treatments of Joyce. His main concern is that theoretical categories like hybridity and mimicry have little utility for empirical historical analysis. And while it may be true that in some theoretical work these concepts lack historical specificity, we should not be blinded to the theoretical cogency of the concepts themselves. These concerns are foregrounded in the treatment of the post-colonial subject. Wollaeger criticises Christine van Boheemen-Saaf's *Joyce, Derrida, Lacan, and the Trauma of History* for 'dissipat[ing] any concrete sense of the effects that Irish history has had on living subjects'.⁹ But Boheemen-Saaf's warrant is not the 'living subject' so much as the 'speaking subject' and a way of speaking of 'Irish history as a symptom' and of Joyce's texts as representing the unrepresentable trauma of history – the 'death or the unclaimed experience of trauma, or an authentic subaltern subjectivity'.¹⁰ Her readings of Joyce touch upon these *conceptual* difficulties and serve to remind us that history's mimesis produces only a simulacrum of empirical gratification. Joyce's 'mimesis of loss' seeks what cannot be empirically known, 'the original repression at the root of the constitution of identity'.¹¹ This kind of theoretical work is necessary if we are to understand the singularity of the 'living' and 'speaking' post-colonial subject.

Wollaeger's essay points to another problem within post-colonial Joyce studies: the question of Joyce's modernism. He takes Vincent Cheng to task

for assuming that a zero-sum game exists in which a post-colonial critique of the modernist Joyce somehow robs other writers (from Africa, South Asia, the Caribbean) of their (presumably 'rightful') place in course syllabi and scholarly journals.¹² Enda Duffy concurs with Wollaeger when he argues that, in *Ulysses*, Joyce 'distributes the literary effects of modernist defamiliarization on the one hand and an almost archaic strand of realist mimeticism on the other to present the reader ultimately with a postcolonial text'.¹³ The logic of transference can be discerned in this conception of the post-colonial text recognising archaism as constitutive. To distinguish between 'metropolitan modernism and anti- and postcolonial literature' is, for Duffy, to perpetuate imperialist divisions of the globe into a privileged 'first' world and a deprived 'third' world; Joyce challenges this imperialist perspective by representing a 'native perspective' in a work that 'aims to be included in an international high literary canon'.¹⁴ David Lloyd's theory of adulteration goes even further by disallowing *any* privileged discourse. As an adulterated text, *Ulysses* breaks down the monological structure of colonial, nationalist and revivalist discourses and reincorporates selected elements in a new hybrid textuality. Taking as his example the 'Cyclops' episode, in which parodic 'interpolations' comment on the narrative action, Lloyd argues that the 'slippage among institutional, cultural, racial and political elements is a function of a stylistic hybridization that refuses to offer any normative mode of representation from which other modes can be said to deviate'.¹⁵ 'Stylistic hybridization' puts into textual terms the misrecognition that characterises social interactions ('slippage'): the kind of critical misrecognition useful to a political pedagogy.

As the negative or transferential moment of the post-colonial, *adulteration* emerges as the 'constitutive anxiety of nationalism'.¹⁶ Joseph Valente theorises this anxiety in terms of 'immixture', 'the metro-colonial interval or remainder, a border zone both joining and dividing an imperialist and an irridentist culture under the always contestable titles of United Kingdom and Irish nation respectively'.¹⁷ On the one hand, this metro-colonial 'interval' results from a long history of racial and cultural immixture that Joyce himself understood well:

Our civilization is an immense woven fabric in which very different elements are mixed, in which Nordic rapacity is reconciled to Roman law, and new Bourgeois conventions to the remains of a Siriac religion. In such a fabric, it is pointless to search for a thread that has remained pure, virgin and uninfluenced by other threads nearby. What race or language ... can nowadays claim to be pure? (*OCPW* 118)

On the other hand, the historical conditions that prevailed at least from the time of Cromwellian plantations in the mid-seventeenth century gave a specific valence to a metro-colonial condition in which Gaelo-Catholic and

Anglo-Protestant 'orders' coexisted in a liminal space in which every aspect of life was determined by relations of entwinement, interdependence and interdetermination.¹⁸ Thus, in *Dubliners*, Joyce represents not a moral paralysis, a reading that for decades assimilated Joyce's early work under the aegis of psychological realism, but rather a social and political paralysis that results from the metro-colonial condition itself, '[a] profoundly ambivalent ethnonational identification, the peculiar psychomachia of the minority'.¹⁹ Complicity is not an unfortunate process of pernicious external influences debilitating and demoralising an ethnically pure Ireland; it is the *necessary condition* of metro-coloniality, a social and ontological adjacency in relation to which there can be no prior or separate existence.

This adjacency is dramatised throughout *Dubliners*, the 'characteristic drift' of which 'is to epiphanize the concealed structural complicity between the avowedly antagonistic vehicles of metropolitan and nativist interpellation'.²⁰ In 'A Little Cloud', for example, characters ape English attitudes or adopt Irish ones as a desperate ploy to ratify a coherent sense of identity in the face of social isolation. Thus Little Chandler represents the colonised subject whose subjectivity is entirely in thrall to idealisations rooted in Anglo-Irish revivalism. He hurries to meet his friend, the journalist Gallagher, who is the very embodiment of metropolitan success: 'Every step brought him nearer to London, farther from his own sober inartistic life' (D 68). His desire to strike the Celtic note arises out of a deeply felt need to please the 'English critics' who 'would recognise him as one of the Celtic school by reason of the melancholy tone of his poems' (D 68–9). Similarly, Gabriel Conroy, in 'The Dead', writes for a Unionist newspaper and violently repudiates his own origins: 'O, to tell you the truth', he retorts to the revivalist, Molly Ivors, 'I'm sick of my own country, sick of it!' (D 190). Gabriel's 'lame' response to Molly's accusation that he writes for a 'rag' like the *Daily Express* – 'he saw nothing political in writing reviews of books' (D 188) – underscores the mechanisms of disavowal that characterise the metro-colonial subject who regards complicity as evidence of one's bad faith rather than as a constitutive element – a necessary error – of a specific historical experience of colonisation.

At the end of 'The Dead', when Gabriel confronts the spectre of Michael Furey, whom he and his wife have fetishised as the embodiment of a pure Gaelo-Catholic Irishness, the dissolution of his sense of solid identity underscores not only what he has himself staked in the contest with Molly Ivors but also what the various revivalist movements staked in the general contest over the right to represent authentic Irishness.²¹ Joyce's ambivalent representation of Gabriel has led many readers to conclude

that he was himself hostile to revivalist movements. In *Modernism and the Celtic Revival*, I argue that, while Joyce challenged the cultural assumptions of the Anglo Irish Revival, especially the redemptive mode of ethnography that characterised its representational strategies and 'its tendency to assume that the peasant somehow held out the hope of national virtue and cultural unity', he was also instrumental in continuing the revivalist project by critiquing its cultural practices.²² In fact, Seamus Deane asserts that 'Joyce remained faithful to the original conception of the Revival. His Dublin became the Holy City of which Yeats had despaired.'²³

According to Clare Hutton, Joyce's critics too often restrict themselves to his engagement with the Yeatsian Literary Revival and the *belles lettres* of men like John Eglington; they tend to regard revivalism as 'exclusively literary, exclusively concerned with the recovery of Ireland's ancient past, and exclusively led by a group of Anglo-Irish writers who were motivated by a desire to attain positions of cultural supremacy'.²⁴ To be sure, the literary aspects of Anglo-Irish revivalism come in for their share of criticism in *Ulysses*, as does the mysticism of George Russell ('AE') and the Celticism of Richard Best. But Hutton calls into question accounts of the episode, like Len Platt's, that use the term 'Anglo-Irish' to refer to intellectuals – a Quaker, a theosophist, a converted Catholic and an Ulster Presbyterian – whose backgrounds differ remarkably from the norm of the Anglo-Irish cultural elite. Joyce's critique of revivalism in its various forms depends on his awareness of 'the historicity of his setting'.²⁵ Duffy's analysis of *Ulysses* as a 'subaltern' text makes a similar point. Joyce's use of 'strategies of enclosure' – in which quotations are subject to mimic repetition, misquotation and mockery – calls revivalist and anthropological discourses into question; but it also signals a critical distance from chauvinist nationalism, for Duffy believes that *Ulysses* presents itself as an Irish work that 'will reject all nativist forms of language, symbol, and subjecthood'.²⁶ This approach to the post-colonial Joyce – critical of both colonial and nationalist positions – is indebted to Fanon's critique of the native intellectual tempted not only by imperial forms of nationalism but also by the exoticism of his own culture, by the 'old legends ... reinterpreted on the basis of a borrowed aesthetic, and a concept of the world discovered under other skies'.²⁷

The complicities and contradictions in Joyce's attitudes toward revivalism characterise a more general condition that Derek Attridge and Marjorie Howes have dubbed 'semi-colonialism'. In their view, Joyce's texts, when they address 'questions of nationalism and imperialism', 'evinces a complex and ambivalent set of attitudes, not reducible to a simple anticolonialism but very far from expressing approval of the colonial organizations and

methods under which Ireland had suffered during a long history of oppression, and continued to suffer during his lifetime'.²⁸ As Emer Nolan points out, the concept of the semi-colonial helps us to overcome the 'epistemological and political pessimism of much post-colonial theory'.²⁹ It does this in part by offering more precisely calibrated readings of social and cultural contradictions and, by so doing, recognising contradiction as constitutive heterogeneity. Like the metro-colonial, the semi-colonial signifies a condition of heterogeneous social and cultural determination that characterises not only the colonised subject, but also those Anglo-Protestants whose identity and allegiances cannot be contained by recourse to a singular national origin. The moment in *A Portrait of the Artist as Young Man*, when Stephen Dedalus confronts the slippery duality of the English language – 'so familiar and so foreign ... an acquired speech' (P 205) – highlights the young Irishman's sense of semi-colonial displacement. Declan Kiberd's reading of this passage emphasises the complicities forced upon the subject (both Stephen and Joyce) by language: 'No matter how brilliant Joyce's use of English, it would always run the risk of being seen as his way of serving his colonial master: English would be the perceptual prison in which he realized his genius.'³⁰ The passage, however, indicates a much more pervasive sense of displacement, for Stephen's interlocutor, the Jesuit dean of studies, is defined by the same metro- or semi-colonial ambivalence: 'a humble follower in the wake of clamorous conversions, a poor Englishman in Ireland ... a late comer, a tardy spirit' (P 204).

Stephen's difficulties with language are connected to the larger problem of Irish nationalism and its condition of non-modernity, which Terry Eagleton understands as a dialectical relation between the 'archaic' and the 'modern'. 'Nationalism', he writes, 'is a desire to be modern on one's own terms; and since one is not yet modern, those terms can be nothing but traditional.'³¹ However, as Colin Graham and Lloyd point out, in Irish studies 'postcolonial criticism appears to be tied to a narrative which celebrates the entity of the nation as the logical and correct outcome of the process of anti-colonial struggle'.³² The question of representation that Graham raises is crucial for the analysis of Irish nationalism, and the centrality of Homi Bhabha's work in this context is widely acknowledged. For Bhabha, the destiny of the post-colonial 'nation-people' is defined not merely by concrete political boundaries, but by a 'temporality of continuance, the transformation, displacement, even transfiguration of struggle through continuity into something unrecognizable'.³³ Moreover, the temporality of anti-colonial struggle instates a 'double and split' time of national representation:

The people are not simply historical events or parts of a patriotic body politic. They are also a complex rhetorical strategy of social reference ... [T]he nation's people must be thought in double-time; the people are the historical 'objects' of a nationalist pedagogy, giving the discourse an authority that is based on the pre-given or constituted historical origin *in the past*; the people are also the 'subjects' of a process of signification that must erase any prior or originary presence of the nation-people to demonstrate the prodigious, living principles of the people as contemporaneity.³⁴

For Bhabha, as for many writers in Irish studies, the nation constitutes the space in which the past is 'erased' even as it remains as the necessary basis of discursive authority. In the interplay of the performative and the pedagogical – of the contemporary moment and the 'pre-given' past – the 'unrecognizable' nation takes shape and is recognised, finally, as a 'living principle'.

Lloyd echoes Bhabha's conception of the nation when he links the destiny of the nation to 'subaltern' groups typically excluded from anti-colonial nationalist trends and nation-state formations after independence. '[I]f the nationalisms with which we are in solidarity are to be emancipatory, rather than fixed in the repressive apparatuses of state formations, it is their conjunctural relation to other social movements [e.g. trade unions and women's rights groups] that needs to be emphasized and furthered, at both theoretical and practical levels.'³⁵ The key question is whether Joyce depicts these 'conjunctural relations', whether he moves beyond the limitations of an ideology of nationalism formed on imperial models. Take, for example, the 'Cyclops' episode of *Ulysses*, which has become a nodal point for critical discussions of nationalism. Emer Nolan argues that Bloom's position in 'Cyclops' has been privileged by the 'extraordinarily generous critical estimations'³⁶ of him, at the expense of the Citizen, who is often regarded as a stereotype of xenophobic nationalism. These critical estimations typically understand Bloom's position in terms of an abstract, universalist pacifism. Following Lloyd and Graham, we might argue that Bloom is less the pacifist than the champion of the non- or 'semi'-Irish, whose ethnic or ideological identities put them beyond the pale of essentialist and essentialising political categories. His famous remarks about history and love – 'Force, hatred, history, all that. That's not life for men and women, insult and hatred. And everybody knows that it's the very opposite of that that is really life ... Love ... I mean the opposite of hatred' (*U* 12.1481–5) – suggest the kind of affective and 'relational' politics that the outsider adopts in response to aggressively close-knit local groups. What Nolan misses in her revisionist reading, according to which Joyce's sympathies lie with the Citizen's nationalism, is the possibility that he may be staging the transferential

moment of recognition when the error of nationalism is unveiled. If we privilege Bloom's perspective, it is not because he takes up an anti-nationalist position, but because he steps outside the unforgiving dialectic of the coloniser and the colonised in which nationalism (and pacificism) reproduces imperialist structures of power. Even if we grant Nolan's argument, that Joyce was sympathetic to the Citizen's position, we need not thus conclude that Joyce was not also sympathetic to Bloom's. It is possible to read *Ulysses* in terms of non-aligned marginalised social groups: the Jewish Bloom, the 'Cyclops' narrator (a 'gombeen man'), 'that bloody old pantaloons Denis Breen' (*U* 12.253), women, children, socialists, immigrants, vagrants, the disabled and the unemployed and underemployed, all of whom may well feel isolated and frustrated in the face of a nationalist formation that more or less consciously reduplicates the structures of colonial power.

We might, then, read Molly Bloom's monologue in explicitly political terms. Carol Schloss argues that her political consciousness is intimately tied to her understanding of complex land reform issues debated by British and nationalist leaders. Her 'grumblings' on the evening of 16 June 1904 thus acquire 'a political status simply by being the kind of "guerilla" tactic that was, in 1904, common to any Irish resistance to unionism'.³⁷ Like the rambunctious students in the physics theatre in *A Portrait*, Molly's speech is a form of tactical heckling. The crucial difference, for Schloss, lies in her transposition of a political strategy to the field of gender relations, where the political union of Britain and Ireland is likened to union of marriage. In this way, Joyce situates the marginalised subject in a relation of contestation to the politics of nationalism. By the same token, we might read the Citizen's vituperative 'Anglophobia' as an attack on nationalism *as such* of which he is unaware precisely because he is unwilling or unable to step outside of the imperial framework that defines his nationalist sympathies.

It is difficult to read Joyce without recognising that at some level the concept of the nation is untenable. Yet Joyce himself fondly proclaimed that Dublin could be rebuilt brick by brick from *Ulysses*, and certainly many readers come away from his early works with a profound sense of national identity, of an Irishness that is celebrated rather than mocked. In fact, we might regard the 'reality' of Joyce's Dublin as precisely a function of a misrecognition that, for Žižek, 'already possesses in itself, so to speak, a positive ontological dimension: it founds, it renders possible a certain positive entity'. Like Dublin, the nation acquires a concrete, positive presence in Joyce's text precisely because an initial misrecognition of it – as partial, as occluded, as implicated in foreign structures of power – is the 'immanent condition of the final advent of the truth'.³⁸ Another way to conceptualise this

process is to argue, as Valente does, that Joyce's nationalism takes the form of a *transnationalism* in which an anti-nationalist position enters into a dialectical relation with pro-nationalist sentiments. The Joycean transnationalism might best be described as a productive contradiction in which a transferential process unfolds: attitudes toward a specifically Irish nationalism shift and change within a context of European, specifically Italian, irridentism. According to Valente, transnationalism simultaneously transcends the limits of the monological nationalism of Irish-Irelanders like D. P. Moran and Arthur Griffith and traverses the borders that separate the Irish from other European national experiences. Only in exile could Joyce embrace the transnational and become a 'diasporic subject', at home in Ireland *and* Trieste; only in exile could he construct a 'Triestine Ireland' of the imagination, the transferential space of the 'concrete aesthetic universal'.³⁹

Joyce's impatience with Irish-Ireland nationalism may have blinded him to the transnational energies already evident in Ireland's contentious political arena. In any case, exile in multicultural Trieste alerted him to the possibilities of transnational identities, which he then ascribed to his fictional Dubliners in still another instance of Žižekian transference. Joyce ultimately comes to recognise what he had failed to recognise before: that the diasporic, transnational Irish subject cannot be thought in terms of ontological categories of authenticity. Vincent Cheng, among others, has drawn our attention to Joyce's deconstruction of essentialist theories of racial difference. Building on Perry Curtis' groundbreaking *Apes and Angels*, Cheng explores the various strategies by which Joyce questions the processes of racialisation and 'turns the racialized, derogatory analogies of the Irish as racial others into enabling bonds of shared ethnicity'.⁴⁰ Whether we agree with Cheng that Joyce represents such 'enabling bonds' or believe alternatively that he depicts conflicts that are the necessary constituents of 'diasporic' or multicultural societies, it is clear that Joyce rejects any simplistic historicism that places blame outside the relations of men and women. This rejection is famously dramatised in the 'Telemachus' episode of *Ulysses*, when, in response to Stephen's remark that he is the servant of both the 'imperial British state' and the 'holy Roman catholic and apostolic church', the British amateur ethnographer Haines falls back on the sublime excuse of a transcendentalist vision of history: 'I can quite understand that, he said calmly. An Irishman must think like that, I daresay. We feel in England that we have treated you rather unfairly. It seems history is to blame' (*U* 1.647–9).

Joyce consistently refutes such easy answers, just as he refutes the equally easy assumption that the British are to blame. As he put it in *Stephen Hero*,

'The Roman, not the Sassenach, was for [Stephen] the tyrant of the islanders' (SH 53). The post-colonial moment in Joyce lies precisely in this undecidable historical question of blame, for in raising the question, Haines inadvertently points to a possible answer. History *is* to blame, if we regard history as the space of metro-colonial transnationalism, the space of a post-colonial modernity that emerges in the determinate negation of the very alterity it both denies and requires as a necessary condition. If history is to blame, it is really the history of an uncertain future in which post-colonial Ireland finds its final and enabling recognition.

NOTES

1. See Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (New York: Orion, 1965), p. 140.
2. Slavoj Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (London and New York: Verso, 1989), pp. 57–61. According to Žižek, 'the Truth itself is constituted *through* the illusion proper to the transference – "the Truth arises from misrecognition" (Lacan)' (p. 57).
3. Sheldon Brivic, 'Joyce and the Invention of Language', in Michael Patrick Gillespie and A. Nicholas Fagnoli, eds., *Ulysses in Critical Perspective* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), p. 64.
4. Ann McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 10. See also Stuart Hall, 'When Was the "Post-Colonial"? Thinking at the Limit', in Iain Chambers and Lidia Curti, eds., *The Post-Colonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 242–60.
5. David Lloyd, *Ireland after History* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), p. 38.
6. See *ibid.*, ch. 2, 'Nationalisms against the State'.
7. Stephen Howe describes the 'exceptionalist' view as one that 'either den[ies] the relevance of colonialism as a category for understanding modern Ireland or question[s] its significance' in *Ireland and Empire: Colonial Legacies in Irish History and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 76.
8. See Joseph Valente, 'Between Resistance and Complicity: Metro-Colonial Tactics in Joyce's *Dubliners*', *Narrative* 6 (1998): 325–40. I use throughout his distinction between Anglo-Protestant and Gaelo-Catholic.
9. Mark Wollaeger, 'Joyce in the Postcolonial Tropics', *JJQ* 39.1 (2001): 79.
10. Christine van Boheemen-Saaf, *Joyce, Derrida, Lacan, and the Trauma of History: Reading, Narrative and Postcolonialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 20, 70.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 72.
12. Wollaeger, 'Postcolonial Tropics', 69. See Vincent Cheng, 'Of Canons, Colonies, and Critics: The Ethics and Politics of Postcolonial Joyce Studies', in John Brannigan, Geoff Ward and Julian Wolfey, eds., *Re: Joyce: Text/Culture/Politics* (New York: St Martin's, 1998), pp. 234–6.

13. Enda Duffy, *The Subaltern Ulysses* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), p. 4.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 30.
15. David Lloyd, *Anomalous States: Irish Writing and the Post-Colonial Moment* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1993), p. 106.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Valente, 'Resistance and Complicity': 327.
18. See Joseph Valente, 'Joyce's Politics: Race, Nation, and Transnationalism', in Jean-Michel Rabaté, ed., *Palgrave Advances in James Joyce Studies* (Houndmills and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 73–96.
19. Valente, 'Resistance and Complicity': 328.
20. Valente, 'Joyce's Politics', p. 80.
21. See Valente, 'Joyce's Politics', pp. 91–5 and Gregory Castle, *Modernism and the Celtic Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 184–8.
22. Castle, *Modernism*, p. 173.
23. Seamus Deane, *Celtic Revivals: Essays in Modern Irish Literature 1880–1980* (Winston-Salem: Wake Forest University Press, 1987), p. 96.
24. Clare Hutton, 'Joyce, the Library Episode, and the Institutions of Revivalism', in Andrew Gibson and Len Platt, eds., *Joyce, Ireland, and Britain* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), p. 133.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 132. For Platt, see *Joyce and the Anglo-Irish: A Study of Joyce and the Literary Revival* (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1998). Hutton also notes that, notwithstanding his concern for historical accuracy, '[i]t suited Joyce's aesthetic self-fashioning to portray literary revivalism as a movement that could not cater for the interests of gifted young intellectuals such as Dedalus' (p. 134).
26. Duffy, *The Subaltern Ulysses*, pp. 28–9, 49.
27. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Richard Philcox [1963] (New York: Grove Press, 2004), p. 159.
28. Derek Attridge and Marjorie Howes, eds., *Semicolonial Joyce* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 3.
29. Emer Nolan, 'State of the Art: Joyce and Postcolonialism', in Derek Attridge and Marjorie Howes, eds. *Semicolonial Joyce*, p. 88.
30. Declan Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 332.
31. Terry Eagleton, *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger: Studies in Irish Culture* (London and New York: Verso, 1995), p. 285.
32. Colin Graham, "'Liminal Spaces": Post-Colonial Theories and Irish Culture', *Irish Review* 16 (1994): 30.
33. Homi K. Bhabha, 'Unsatisfied: Notes on Vernacular Cosmopolitanism', in *Text and Nation: Cross-Disciplinary Essays on Cultural and National Identities*, Laura Garcia Moreno and Peter C. Pfeiffer, eds. (Columbia: Camden House, 1996), p. 191.
34. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 144–5.
35. Lloyd, *Ireland after History*, p. 36.

36. Emer Nolan, *James Joyce and Nationalism* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 100.
37. Carol Schloss, 'Molly's Resistance to the Union: Marriage and Colonialism in Dublin, 1904', in Richard Pearce, ed., *Molly Blooms: A Polylogue on 'Penelope' and Cultural Studies* (Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1994), pp. 110–11.
38. Žižek, *Sublime Object*, p. 66.
39. Valente, 'Joyce's Politics', pp. 88, 90, 92.
40. Vincent Cheng, *Joyce, Race, and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 47.

*Genetic Joyce criticism**Dirk Van Hulle*

Joyce studies in the early twenty-first century have been marked by an important expansion of what Stan Gontarski calls the 'grey canon' – the extensive body of manuscripts, letters and other contextual materials, which are distinguished from the well-known 'white' canon of the author's published works.¹ This colour code may seem to imply a value judgement, but it also puts the traditional canon in context and to certain extent upgrades contextual material as part of the canon's periphery. A most remarkable enlargement of this canonical *banlieue* was the 2002 acquisition of the Joyce papers by the National Library of Ireland, which filled a large number of lacunae, notably in the genetic dossier of *Ulysses*. In 2006 the NLI also acquired six sheets with very early drafts of what eventually was to become *Finnegans Wake*.

The importance of this extending body of prepublication materials is that it draws attention to an aspect of Joyce's work that may have been somewhat undervalued in the wake of New Criticism. The more 'the text itself' held the spotlight, the more it overshadowed the writing that went into it, until the work became a kind of Peter Schlemihl, a body without shadow. The prejudice that manuscript research would be tantamount to the so-called 'intentional fallacy' is obstinate. A search for authorial intentions may be a motive for scholars to study the manuscripts, but it is far from the only one. The new acquisitions of manuscripts reflect a re-evaluation of Joyce's writing as both verb and noun. The 'whiteness' of the canon and the consequent blackness of its shadow is the effect of a way of reading. As the manuscripts show, the transition from 'black' to 'white' is often more gradual than we tend to acknowledge. This grey area has traditionally been associated with textual scholarship. Scholarly editors usually studied draft versions and prepublication materials with a view to 'restoring' the reading text and producing a critical edition. This focal point implied a main interest in the versions close to publication, and a neglect of so-called 'paralipomena', i.e. manuscript materials that do not strictly belong to a

version of the text, such as marginalia and reading notes. Another approach to the 'grey canon' that does take these paralipomena into account is genetic criticism. Since both disciplines are related but not quite identical, scholarly editing will serve as contrasting background in this presentation of genetic Joyce criticism.

SCHOLARLY EDITING

For a canonical author like Joyce it is remarkable that there are relatively few critical, variorum or historical-critical editions of his work. In 1954 *Chamber Music* was edited by William York Tindall; in the 1960s *Dubliners* by Robert Scholes and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* by Chester Anderson. John MacNicholas made a 'textual companion' of *Exiles* in 1979. But it was not until 1984 that a 'Critical and Synoptic Edition' of *Ulysses* was completed by Hans Walter Gabler, Wolfhard Steppe and Claus Melchior.² This publication was followed by such a fuss that it immediately became clear how delicate a task it is to edit works by James Joyce. On the one hand the so-called 'Joyce Wars' of the 1980s – notably John Kidd's attacks – put off many readers and possibly created an image of philologists as mean academics who acidify each other's lives for the sake of a comma. In this sense, the aftermath of the 1984 synoptic edition may have somewhat overshadowed the truly innovative nature of its achievement.

On the other hand the Joyce wars also seem to have resulted in an increased awareness of textual problems. In the 1990s the focus shifted from the correction or restoration of texts to a conscious choice of textual versions. A good illustration is Jeri Johnson's introduction to the 1993 *Ulysses* edition.³ Whatever edition one reads, it is more important to be aware of the vicissitudes of the text's history than simply to assume the reliability of what is printed. Since no edition is error-free, Sebastian Knowles for instance consciously prefers the 1934 edition in spite, or even because, of its many mistakes, for these errors draw attention to the inevitable fallibility of any human enterprise. This formal aspect thus reinforces the text's content: 'in a book so concerned with the human such errors are not only forgivable but necessary'.⁴

This textual situation has necessitated a search for new editorial methods. In the early twenty-first century Michael Groden, together with Luca Crispi, Sam Slote, Vincent Neyt, Dirk Van Hulle and Paul Meahan, worked out a prototype of the 'Proteus' episode for a *Hypermedia Ulysses*, with the support of the Mellon Foundation. Apart from annotations with audiovisual illustrations and explanations, this prototype offers the opportunity to study

the textual genesis by means of digital facsimiles of the extant manuscripts, in combination with both a diplomatic (or topographic) and a linear transcription in XML (eXtensible Markup Language). Rather than provide the reader with one reading text, it offers three: the 1922, 1961 and 1984 editions, with the option to highlight variants. None of the texts is privileged; the variants do not relate to an 'invariant' version, but to other variant editions.

In comparison with *Ulysses'* eventful editorial history, there has been relatively little controversy over *Finnegans Wake*, even though its textual past is possibly even more problematic. Since the words of the *Wake* are often distorted by means of Joyce's portmanteau technique it is sometimes difficult to determine with certainty whether a textual departure is a mistake or an intentional linguistic distortion. Moreover, quite early in the book's reception history, it became clear that several passages disappeared during the text's transmission. As early as 1944, Joseph Campbell and Henry Morton Robinson signalled an omission on page 76 of *Finnegans Wake*: the line 'thereby at last eliminating from all classes and masses' still read 'thereby at last eliminating *from* the oppidump much desultory delinquency *from* all classes and masses' in the prepublication in *transition*.⁵ During the preparation of the galley proofs of *Finnegans Wake* the typesetter must have jumped from the first *from* to the second – a case of haplography that causes some syntactical disturbance. In 1955 Theodore Dolmatch compared three prepublications of the Anna Livia Plurabelle chapter, concluding that the gradually increasing number of distortions only added to the text's incomprehensibility and that it would have been better if Joyce had stopped revising in the late 1920s.

One year after Dolmatch's 'Notes and Queries concerning the Revisions of *Finnegans Wake*' Fred Higginson published a list of twenty-nine emendations, based on a collation of instalments, when the book was still called a 'Work in Progress'. Since the proofs had not been taken into account in this study, Clive Hart established in 1960 that half a dozen of the omissions in Higginson's list had been deleted by Joyce himself. Higginson magnanimously apologised with a 'mea culpa' in 'The Text of *Finnegans Wake*' (1972), in which he nonetheless pleaded for a restoration of the text. This was a confirmation of Jack P. Dalton's 1966 'Advertisement for the Restoration' in *Twelve and a Tilly*.⁶ In the same volume of essays A. Walton Litz also noted that 'the published texts of *Finnegans Wake* are corrupt in many places', and he saw no reason 'why a good critical text of *Finnegans Wake* should not ultimately be produced, based upon judicious use of the manuscripts'.⁷ Almost twenty years later, in the 'Editorial' of the first issue of *A Finnegans Wake Circular*, Vincent Deane formulated the journal's

first objective as 'The establishment of an accurate text.' This was to be a synoptic edition 'according to the same principles as the Gabler *Ulysses*' by Danis Rose, but possibly because of copyright issues its establishment was deferred.⁸

An accurate text would certainly be of help with a view to interpreting certain passages, such as the 'desultory delinquency' signalled by Campbell and Robinson. In order to be able to read – let alone translate – this passage, the direct object ('much desultory delinquency') is indispensable. The Dutch translators Erik Bindervoet and Robbert-Jan Henkes have therefore systematically consulted the draft versions of *Finnegans Wake* and incorporated this kind of lost passage into their translation and included a twenty-eight-page list of almost 1,300 transmissional departures.⁹ This impressive list is a step in the direction of Fred Higginson's 1972 suggestion of a 'developmental variorum', which had to provide readers with a survey of "lost" passages and words.¹⁰ The key question, however, is whether all of these 'lost' passages need to be 'restored'.

As an example of the tension between textual and genetic criticism, a remarkable 'lost' word is the word 'lost' in the last line of *Finnegans Wake*.¹¹ In the published version the closing lines read 'A way a lone a last a loved a long the'; between the fourth and fifth draft version of the closing section the typist has omitted the words 'a lost'. In the fourth version the line still reads: 'A way a lone a lost a last a loved a long the' (*JJA* LXIII 243). Since both versions are typewritten, it is almost impossible to determine with absolute certainty whether Joyce actively authorised this omission. At first sight, it looks like a typist's oversight, but in a way the disappearance of 'a lost' was already prefigured and compensated by the appearance of 'the lothst word' (*FW* 300.11) in the corrected galley proofs of the 'Triangle' or 'Muddest Thick' episode for *transition* II, dated by the printer 10 January 1928 (*JJA* LIII 64). Eventually it was neither Shem nor Shaun, but ALP who was to have the last lisped word. That this final 'the' is integrated in the 'lothst' word, seems to indicate that as early as 1928 Joyce already knew how his book was going to end, i.e. ten years before he actually wrote the ending. In a way the text thus 'restored' itself in advance or insured itself beforehand against this kind of verbal loss.

When Jack P. Dalton wrote his 'Advertisement for the Restoration' and when Fred Higginson advocated a 'developmental variorum' they did so with a view to producing a 'final text', which, according to Higginson, could be more eclectic than Scholes' and Anderson's editions of the earlier works. In 2001, however, Sam Slote used his discovery of another case of haplography in the fable of the Ondt and the Gracehoper to write his 'Soundbite

against the restoration' in which he argues against restoring the text since it is almost impossible to formulate watertight criteria that are rigid enough to determine without doubt for every single passage whether the omission took place by accident or with Joyce's authorisation. So as not to make things worse, Slote therefore suggested it best to 'leave ill enough alone'.¹²

GENETIC CRITICISM

Evidently, this does not mean that dead ends in the writing process cannot be mapped. In 2001 the online journal *Genetic Joyce Studies* started a 'Lost & Found' section, containing a list of missing words and passages. The purpose is not to restore the text, but to write what John Bryant calls the 'revision narratives' of these interesting textual instances in the composition history. The reconstruction of this writing history is an ongoing process. Early on in the reception of Joyce's works scholars tried to gain an insight into the dynamics of composition. As Michael Groden notes there was already an interest in the way Joyce wrote *Ulysses* even before it was published in its entirety.¹³ In 1922 Valéry Larbaud described Joyce's notes as 'abbreviated phrases underlined in various-coloured pencil'.¹⁴ And while Joyce was still working on *Finnegans Wake*, Frank Budgen wrote a book on 'the making of *Ulysses*' (1934), in which he mentions Joyce's 'little writing blocks especially made for the waistcoat pocket'.¹⁵

Ten years later, Joseph Prescott wrote a Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Harvard on 'James Joyce's *Ulysses* as a Work in Progress' and, in the 1950s, published an article in *PMLA* on the genesis of *Finnegans Wake*.¹⁶ Several other Joyceans – such as A. Walton Litz and David Hayman – soon followed him in breaking new ground. James Atherton (*The Books at the Wake*, 1959; expanded in 1974) wrote a pioneering work on the source texts Joyce read and used, differentiating between 'structural books', 'literary sources' and 'sacred books'.¹⁷

The 1960s opened with a number of trail-blazing studies. Fred Higginson analysed the making of a chapter, editing several versions of 'Anna Livia Plurabelle' in what was the first genetic edition in Joyce studies.¹⁸ Walton Litz showed – among other things – how Joyce's writing method changed from a view on revision as compression to an increasingly more expansive approach.¹⁹ In the same year as *The Art of James Joyce*, Thomas E. Connolly published his transcription of *Scribbledehobble*, 'the Ur-Workbook for *Finnegans Wake*' as he called it – a large copybook, which was initially thought to be the first *Finnegans Wake* notebook.²⁰ In the meantime, the first notebook turned out to be VI.B.10. This (non-chronological) numbering

was suggested by Peter Spielberg in his 1962 catalogue of *James Joyce's Manuscripts & Letters at the University of Buffalo*.²¹

One of the most remarkable publications in the history of post-war scholarly editing and genetic criticism is *A First-Draft Version of 'Finnegans Wake'*.²² Joyce's favourite working units were sections, which are usually only a few pages long in the earliest draft stages. Hayman made a transcription of these often barely legible first drafts of each of these sections and placed them in the order of the book's final narrative structure. Since this is not the order in which they were written, different phases in the development of Joyce's 'wakeolect' are intermingled. From the perspective of scholarly editing this may seem an odd or even hardly justifiable procedure, but the result proves to be a very useful instrument for genetic criticism. In the meantime *A Wake Newslitter* published several contributions with a genetic component, and one of the debates (on the word 'berial' in *Finnegans Wake*) was hailed by Umberto Eco as an example of contextualising literary research: 'All the participants proved to be smart enough to invent acrobatic interpretations, but both, in the end, were prudent enough to recognize that their brilliant innuendos were not supported by the context. They won the game because they let *Finnegans Wake* win.'²³ The *Newslitter* published several contributions on the 'Chronology of the Buffalo Notebooks' by Roland McHugh, who later devoted a whole book to Joyce's use of sigla in the writing process of *Finnegans Wake*.²⁴

Joyce's 'epiphanies' and early notes on aesthetics, many of which found their way into *Stephen Hero*, were published by Robert Scholes and Richard M. Kain in *The Workshop of Daedalus* (1965).²⁵ The idea that a manuscript is a paper studio also took shape in other publications, such as Joyce's 'Ulysses' *Notesheets in the British Museum* and *Joyce's Notes and Early Drafts for 'Ulysses'* by Philip Herring,²⁶ and the indispensable facsimile edition in sixty-three volumes, published as the *James Joyce Archive*, with the collaboration of Hans Walter Gabler, David Hayman, A. Walton Litz and Danis Rose. The general editor was Michael Groden, whose genetic study *'Ulysses' in Progress* came out in 1977. Groden mapped the interrelationships of the *Ulysses* manuscripts and revealed that the plan for the book was not fixed in advance but evolved gradually in the course of the writing. In this genesis, Groden discerned three phases: the early stage (the first nine episodes), the middle stage (from 'Wandering Rocks' to 'Oxen of the Sun') and the last stage (from 'Circe' to the end). In each phase Joyce started employing new and more experimental styles and techniques. Towards the end he adapted the early episodes to the later techniques, so that the result is a kind of 'palimpsest' of these three phases.²⁷

The idea of a diachronic axis that continues to play a role in the synchronic structure was also elaborated on by Hans Walter Gabler.²⁸ Around the same time, the theoretical outlines of *critique génétique* were taking shape in Paris. The centre for the analysis of modern manuscripts (CAM), founded in 1976, was renamed Institut des Textes et Manuscrits Modernes (ITEM) in 1982. It chiefly conducted research into the writing methods of such authors as Nerval, Flaubert, Valéry, Sartre and Joyce. Jacques Aubert studied – among other things – the Breton proverbs in *Finnegans Wake* notebook VI.B.14. In the 1980s Claude Jacquet edited several interesting collections of essays on Joyce's writing methods, with contributions by genetic critics such as Laurent Milesi, Daniel Ferrer and André Topia, who continued collecting genetic Joyce studies in the subsequent decades.²⁹

The 1990s, an important decade in terms of genetic criticism, opened with *The 'Wake' in Transit* by David Hayman.³⁰ Daniel Ferrer outlined the *Finnegans Wake* notebook research in the journal of the Institut des Textes et Manuscrits Modernes.³¹ A seminal contribution to the examination of Joyce's source texts was Vincent Deane's important discovery of the street interview about the Bywaters case in the *Daily Sketch* (14 December 1922), from which Joyce excerpted several passages in notebook VI.B.10. The ship's steward Frederick Bywaters had been sentenced on 11 December 1922 for murder of the husband of his beloved Edith Thompson, partly at her instigation. To many people, the latter detail was a reason to pardon Bywaters – hence the 'Petition for Reprieve of Bywater' in the newspaper. The idea that guilt or innocence is determined by the perception of passers-by was to become a structural motif of *Finnegans Wake*. In the fall of 1923 Joyce started, with the help of Nora, writing a series of drafts, such as the first section of chapter three of *Finnegans Wake*, drawing on several passages from the petition. These drafts are contained in a red-backed notebook, preserved at the British Library (BL MS 47471b), which significantly opens with the word 'Guiltless'. If there was no question of guilt, why deny it? This key question leads to all kinds of speculation and rumour, whirling around the central negation 'Guiltless.' In this way, the Bywaters petition was an important source of inspiration to Joyce's idea of presenting the history of the world as a gigantic gossip factory.

Deane's work, with its focus on the discovery of source texts, was an example of what R. J. Schork defined as the 'circumscribed method' in contrast to what he termed the 'expansive' approach, which interprets notes (for instance psychologically) as if they were published texts.³² One year later, this methodological issue resurfaced in the 1995 essay collection *Probes: Genetic Studies in Joyce*. In the introduction David Hayman represented the

'expansive' approach by pointing out that philological spadework should not be confused with literary criticism.³³ In a similar vein Sam Slote argued that 'philology can show us how to read *Finnegans Wake*, but philology does not in itself provide a reading of *Finnegans Wake*'.³⁴ Schork expressed his preference for the other approach, describing the 'circumscribed' method as an alternative to a form of literary criticism that tends to 'manipulate a text to signify anything one wishes'.

Geert Lernout distinguished this 'circumscribed', contextualising research from the kind of discoveries made by 'the literary critic who finds a thought or a formula to describe a poem or a novel, or who manages to apply a fashionable theory to a text'. The name he suggested for the contextualisation of Joyce criticism was 'radical philology', which he defined as follows:

A radical philology limits the inquiry to the original desire-to-say of any form of writing *and* to its participation in a saturable and constraining context. If it did not, it would forfeit all relevance. Take away intention and context, and the only thing left to say about a text is that it can mean anything at all.³⁵

In the same period Lernout illustrated, together with Ingeborg Landuyt, both how this philological method searches for sources under the age-old motto *ad fontes*, and how the resulting discoveries can be made useful to Joyce criticism. In 'Joyce's Sources' they argue that one of the most extensive motifs in *Finnegans Wake* (the Edgar Quinet sentence, which recurs repeatedly in different guises) was not taken directly from Edgar Quinet's *Introduction à la philosophie de l'histoire de l'humanité*, but is based on *Les grands fleuves historiques* by Léon Metchnikoff, who quotes Quinet, but incorrectly.³⁶

At first sight, this kind of study may seem philological hairsplitting, but it is more than that. First of all, this example is a nice illustration of a writing method that gave shape to Joyce's encyclopaedic project: his knowledge was not always directly based on the original sources; his information was often 'second-hand'. At the same time this method also fits in perfectly with the concept underlying his book: after the completion of *Ulysses*, Joyce had said he wanted to write a 'history of the world', and he compared history to the parlour game, variously called 'Chinese whispering', 'Russian scandal' or in German 'Stille post' (*JJ* 537) – someone whispers a sentence to his neighbour, who in his turn whispers it to the next person, and so on, until the sentence arrives at end of the chain of whispers, usually completely distorted. This process, marking the link between rumours and history, also characterises the mechanism behind the composition history of *Finnegans Wake*. As a consequence, using second- or third-hand information matched perfectly with Joyce's purpose.

The debate between the expansive and the circumscribed method gradually subsided during the second half of the 1990s. Groden summarised the 'heated and healthy debate', noting that Hayman tended to subordinate scholarship to criticism while Lernout was far less willing to do so.³⁷ In the preface to the 1998 volume of essays *Writing Its Own Wrunes for Ever* Claude Jacquet wrote that 'some people' seem to believe it will someday be possible to 'decipher *Finnegans Wake*' by interpreting notebooks as if they were the equivalent of a literary work, implicitly questioning the expansive approach.³⁸ After Hayman's pronouncement that philological spadework should not be confused with criticism, Wim Van Mierlo took up this issue again in this volume of essays, arguing that philology is almost inevitably a form of criticism, since merely trying to decipher a manuscript already involves some degree of interpretation: 'textual scholarship is as much informed by theory and hermeneutic assumptions as any other form of literary criticism'.³⁹

Daniel Ferrer, however, pointed out that there is, nonetheless, a difference between scholarly editing/textual criticism on the one hand, and genetic criticism on the other: 'textual criticism is concerned with the modalities of the injunction to repeat' whereas genetic criticism rather focuses on the changes in the succession of versions: 'genetic criticism, being the study of textual invention, is precisely concerned with what is not repetition'.⁴⁰ Yet, Ferrer also nuances his statement by pointing out that 'pure invention' does not exist. As a consequence, the focus of genetic criticism is the dialectics of invention and repetition. Together with Jed Deppman and Michael Groden, Ferrer edited a volume entitled *Genetic Criticism* (2004), with essays translated from the French. It is significant that this first book-length introduction to genetic criticism in English was compiled by three Joyceans.⁴¹

According to Ferrer, *Finnegans Wake* is a paradigmatic work for genetic criticism, as he argued in the opening lecture at the 2006 Antwerp conference on 'Genetic Joyce and Beckett Studies'. One of the most important reasons underpinning this statement is the way Joyce managed to take advantage of chance events. In 1934 Frank Budgen already described Joyce as a 'great believer in his luck': 'What he needed would come to him. That which he collected would prove useful in its time and place.'⁴² Where it proved useful (in terms of its place in *Finnegans Wake*) is charted by initiatives such as Raphael Slepon's FWEET (www.fweet.org), articles such as Finn Fordham's 'The Transfer from Notebooks to Drafts in "Work in Progress"' and of course Roland McHugh's indispensable *Annotations to 'Finnegans Wake'*.⁴³ The successive editions of this standard work reflect not only the evolution of genetic criticism's recognition within Joyce

studies, but also the increasing amount of research results that have become available to a larger audience, thanks to publications such as Danis Rose's *The Textual Diaries of James Joyce* (containing among many other things a useful chronology of the *Finnegans Wake* notebooks), the Brepols edition of *The 'Finnegans Wake' Notebooks at Buffalo* and *How Joyce Wrote 'Finnegans Wake'*.⁴⁴ As the introduction to this latter publication suggests, a well-trying strategy of genetic criticism is a bidirectional approach to the study of a work's compositional process, both 'counterclockwise' – for instance to find the sources text of a particular word – and 'clockwise', to find out how this word was processed in notebooks and drafts, and did or did not make it into the published text. Charting the numerous alternative routes the work took while it was still underway also implies mapping out the many dead ends in which it had to recede in order to proceed in a different direction. This 'work in regress' is just as much part of the Joyce canon as its progress.

NOTES

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CHAPTER II

Translation

Jolanta Wawrzyszka

‘Latin me that, my trinity scholar.’

(*FW* 215, 26)

When I first saw the entry ‘vulgar language’ in Clongowes Wood College’s Punishment Book, I was bemused by the offence and I remember thinking that, by forgoing the standard language, little Jim Joyce had just committed his first official act of intralingual translation. We cannot know what word(s) he used, though Father Bruce Bradley suggests that ‘it is possible to speculate about the vulgarity uttered by the seven-year-old James Joyce’ based on ‘Christopher Roche’s punishment earlier that year ... for calling a boy a vulgar name “stink”’.¹ Stephen thinks of Roddy Kickam as a nice fellow but ‘nasty Roche was a stink’ (*P* 4); he grapples with ‘stink’ as he does with ‘suck,’ ‘kiss,’ ‘belt’ or God/Dieu. We see a novice translator unwittingly performing metempsychotic translations by considering, separately, words as the verbal ‘bodies’ in search of their ‘souls’ or meanings. Skeat in hand, young Joyce, auto-linguaged into college Stephen, wades through words ‘so familiar and so foreign’ (*P* 205), breaking away from the confines of English into the sophistication of multilinguisticity: ‘ivory, ivoire, avorio, ebur’ (*P* 193). When we first meet Bloom, he too performs a series of metempsychotic translations during his morning conversation with Molly in Calypso, a process he continues throughout the day. Languaging, wording, punning and riddling are at the heart of Joyce’s artistic endeavour from the start when, as a novice poet of nine, he gave his first poem a Latin title ‘Et Tu, Healy’.

My task is to situate Joyce and his work in the context of translation – a tall order, considering Joyce’s own immersion in translation, his considerable investment in supervising and/or authorising translations of his own works and the issue of reception/translation of his *œuvre* throughout the world. The last area has been well covered recently in the two-volume *The Reception of James Joyce in Europe* (2004). The two other topics are amply covered under the umbrella of Joyce and ‘language’, with a host of studies

devoted to rhetorical, stylistic, linguistic and narrative considerations. Translation, yet another species of preoccupation with language, a deeply hypolectic one, to use Fritz Senn's term,² will serve in this chapter as a context for tracing Joyce's performative engagement with language(s) and for defining Joyce's translatorial, mediatory and inter-linguistic ethics of being-in-the-world – silence, exile, cunning and all. From the earliest translation exercises at school Joyce was learning to decode cryptograms of cultures and ideologies, scripts whose protean nature yielded the poly-idiomatic language of *Ulysses* and, eventually, 'the monstrous idiolect of *FW*'.³ By writing *from* and *through* translation, and later *through* and *across* languages, Joyce cast English into relief, making his 'text' a site of competing idioms/idiolects and linguistic conventions/traditions, an apex of the modernist attitude that challenges the hegemony of national languages, cultures and ideologies. Thus the context of translation emerges as a crucial critical tool that positions Joyce at the crossroads of European literary and linguistic traditions embedded in wider contexts of cultures, religions, histories and political systems.

Joyce's relationship with translation falls into several categories: mandatory school translations; translatorial sorties into self-acquired languages (Dano-Norwegian and German); ambassadorial translations (of Hauptmann, Synge and Yeats); authorial self-translations; or collaborative translations of his own works. Then there is also the issue of 'language direction': into English from Latin or French or German; from English into Dano-Norwegian or Italian; and, in case of school translation exercises that were at the core of his early language training, both *into* and *from* English.

LATIN: 'THE MORROW THEE A KID SHALL BRING'
HORACE / (Joyce 1898 quoted in *JF* 50)

From Clongowes through his Belvedere and University years, Joyce, school-boy and student, had to demonstrate his Latin proficiency. Curran confirms both the breadth of learning that boys received as well as the immersion in Latin and 'Thomistic dicta'⁴ that Joyce would later claim to forge Stephen's aesthetic theory. Indeed, the wider 'translation' context of Joyce's Jesuit education was delineated by Latin, from morning salutations, *Laudetur Jesus Christus*, to night benedictions, *Deo Gratias*⁵ and daily classroom efforts dedicated *Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam*. In addition, there was Italian which Joyce began to study when he was nine (*L* 1 132). His Belvedere language scores in Latin, French and Italian have been reproduced and widely discussed,⁶ but it is worthwhile to emphasise the sheer breadth of his dynamic

immersion in inter-linguistic contexts. His Belvedere examinations called for translations from Ovid, Virgil, Cicero, Horace, Mme E. de Pressensé, Florian, Lamartine, Racine, Corneille, de Amicis, Tasso, Machiavelli, to name just a few.⁷ The range expanded as Joyce entered the Royal University: examinations show that he had to translate from, among others, Dante, Molière, Voltaire, Hugo and George Sand.⁸ We also recall the fun Joyce/Stephen and his friends had with mock Latin. And English, both the source and the target language of Joyce's translations, is more than just a 'silent' agent or a catalyst; it became a catch-all for the litter of linguistic residue that would morph, via *Ulysses*, into Wakeese.

In addition, the context of translation invites a look at Joyce's language engagement in terms of *process*, the *doing* of a translation, and, regardless of the outcome, what matters is the prolonged intellectual oscillation between two sets of linguistic and cultural parameters – a trans-relation – which allows for a re-forging of the foreign-language concepts in one's own mother tongue. I call this process *trans-semantification* or *re-linguaging*, in contrast to Jakobson's 'rewording',⁹ in order to bring to focus the profound complexities of processes connoted by Übersetzen, transfere, traduit, tradurre, μεταφράζω, переводить, tłumaczyć, et cetera. Trans-semantification refers to the transference of a *literary work of art* into another language and denotes the complexity of *literary re-linguaging* which, in spite of replacing lexical surface of a literary work, manages to attend to sound, rhythm and semantic coloration of words, phrases and syntactical units of the original as it also takes cognisance of cultural references embedded in lexical structures (e.g. names, rhetorical formations, stylistic repetitions, colloquialisms or invectives) by scrupulously *re-fostering* them in the target language even – or particularly – at the risk of busting the normative boundaries of that language. Trans-semantification means that the very *literariness* of a literary work is carried across and re-created in another language.¹⁰

Joyce's early experiences with decoding and re-fostering meaning forged an acute linguistic consciousness and intuition. His June 1898 translation of Horace's Ode III, 13 (JJ 50–1), is assessed by Schork as a 'commendable exercise' and 'decent English verse',¹¹ while Sullivan praises this meritorious 'schoolboy exercise' as remarkable for the accuracy of expression, grace, accuracy, sense of language and faithfulness to the spirit of Horace.¹² This translation, Joyce's *earliest extant* piece of writing, is of great value for the glimpse it offers of young Joyce's 'exhibition of skill'¹³ and linguistic introspection. It is through Latin that Joyce formulated his early aesthetics, quite likely resulting from the experiences of that Galvanic cardiac

condition, 'the enchantment of the heart', that accompanies the victory of wrenching out words/phrases from one language and rendering them felicitously in another.

As a young artist in search of style, Joyce, following Symons and Moore, also turned to French literature, translating Verlaine and Maeterlinck, most notably, Verlaine's 'Les sanglots longs'. The poem's actual title is 'Chanson d'automne', from the 1866 volume of *Poèmes saturniens* ('les sanglots longs' is the first line). Joyce rendered the second stanza of the poem with a fair degree of fidelity even if one misses Verlaine's word 'Monotone' (which, luckily, resurfaces in Joyce's Paris poem sent to Byrne and later published as song xxxv in *Chamber Music*). Stanzas one and three, however, though faithful in spirit, qualify as an 'interpretive translation', to use a Poundian term which will be discussed later in this essay. Verlaine's cadences inflected Joyce's, even if by 1902 Joyce would insist in a letter to Lady Gregory that 'there was no poetry in French literature' (*JJ* 115). Notably, it was through French that Joyce also tackled an ambitious writing project on Ibsen which carried him into new linguistic territories.

DANO-NORWEGIAN: 'THE MEDIUM OF HARDLY
PROCURED TRANSLATIONS' (*SH* 32)

J. F. Byrne witnessed Joyce's 1899 self-tutoring sessions at the National Library where Joyce was 'cramming himself with the Norwegian language', working his way through 'a pile of books on Ibsen including some of his plays, a Norwegian dictionary and a Norwegian grammar', all a part of the process of preparing 'Ibsen's New Drama'.¹⁴ Stephen, too, we remember, studied Danish walking along the canal with his 'Danish grammar' (*SH* 209). His new linguistic venture resulted in a moment of 'radiant simultaneity' (*SH* 33) when he 'encountered through the medium of hardly procured translations the spirit of Henrik Ibsen' and 'understood that spirit instantaneously' (*SH* 32). Kenner pointed out that Joyce, 'by reading [Ibsen] in the original could find a writer congenial to his own preoccupations with setting language significantly in action' and gain the kind of 'thematic immersion in language that defies translation',¹⁵ an immersion which may well have fuelled Joyce's imperative to study Dano-Norwegian, especially since Ibsen's works were accessible in English. Joyce reciprocated Ibsen's message of appreciation of the April 1900 essay in *Fortnightly Review* eleven months later in his March 1901 letter to Ibsen in Dano-Norwegian, trusting that Ibsen would be able to 'decipher' his meaning (*L* 151). The sophistication of Joyce's letter is remarkable for the beginner (who, thirty-five years later, would actually speak 'good

Danish' (JJ 694)). As Ellmann aptly put it, 'Before Ibsen's letter Joyce was an Irishman; after it he was a European' (JJ 75).

SILESIAN GERMAN: 'ASTERISKS MARK WHERE THE TEXT HAS PROVED UNTRANSLATABLE' (JJA II 530)

Douglas Knight, in his discussion of the Augustan zeal for translation in the context of Pope's Homer, delineates a few *sine qua non* attributes of the translator: he should be an artist and a scholar-linguist, ready to 'range into areas of new insight' if he is to 'speak to his world' or open 'the door for another mind'; he has to be 'profoundly a member of his own world ... alive to the struggles and dilemmas of his culture, or his work will lack the urgency which good translation needs in order to compensate for the many kinds of loss which takes place between original and version'.¹⁶ For the Augustans, translation served 'as a corrective to that provinciality of mind which would take as gospel anything an age seems satisfied with' and the validity of translation rested in its ability to provide 'the necessary foil for immediate experience'. Pope set out to translate Homer with 'a willingness to take the alien world seriously' and an ability to bring that world 'into living relation with all the accepted and unquestioned attitudes of his own world', which fostered 'the flowering of a poetic maturity not possible without both these earlier steps'.¹⁷

Knight's words serve well to illuminate the dynamics of young Joyce's immersion in translation. In summer of 1901, eleven years before Gerhart Hauptmann received the Nobel Prize, Joyce had translated his *Vor Sonnensufgang* as *Before Sunrise* (JJA II) and, apparently, *Michael Kramer* (L I 389), though that manuscript has vanished. Ellmann suggests that Joyce read Hauptmann in the original for the Ibsenian problem-themes and to improve his grasp of German (JJ 87–8), 'a language which until then he had disliked and avoided' (JJ 76). But the sheer labour on Joyce's part of 'transludning from the Otherman' (FW 419.24), of anchoring himself in Mullingar to produce an almost spotless manuscript penned in copperplate, points to more than just a language exercise. Kennerian 'thematic immersion in language' afforded Joyce access to concepts that indeed 'defied translation', and heightened his sense of the poet as 'the intense centre of the life of his age ... capable of absorbing in himself the life that surrounds him' (SH 67). Critics like Robert Spoo, see Joyce's early critical writings as a means of inserting himself into the discourse of self, history, Romantic aesthetic theory;¹⁸ Joyce's early translations could be seen in the same light, especially since in 1904 Joyce offered his Hauptmann translations to

W. B. Yeats for a possible staging by the Irish Literary Theatre. After Yeats' rejection (*L* II 58), the texts rested dormant until 1928 when Ezra Pound asked to see those 'juvenile indiscretions', informing Joyce that 'the noble Gerhardt [*sic*]' was struggling with *Ulysses* in 'choimun'.¹⁹ In 1937 Joyce arranged to have his translation of *Before Sunrise* autographed by Hauptmann and wanted to be introduced to him (*L* I 389). Right after Joyce's death there was an attempt to publish *Before Sunrise* to aid the Joyce family in Zurich. Joyce's representative in the US, Maria Jolas, was approached with the task and remarked that 'Joyce did very few translations and it reveals an *interesting facet of his mind* [my emphasis] that he should have done this one *at such an early age*.'²⁰

At such an early age Joyce was already establishing a 'translation context' for his future works and, although he had never articulated any translatorial principles, a closer look at *Before Sunrise* reveals aspects of his *modus operandi*, including a humbling admission by the nineteen-year-old translator: 'asterisk mark where the text has proved untranslatable' (*JJA* II 530). Tymoczko observes that the distance between the source and the receiving culture greatly influences the 'impetus to simplify'.²¹ The Hauptmann manuscript indicates three instances where Joyce simplified by excising passages (*JJA* II 464, 496 and 497). Not all omissions were caused by Joyce's difficulties with Hauptmann's Silesian dialect which he largely rendered in Anglo-Irish idiom; rather, as noted by Perkins, the omissions occur 'where there are suspension points in the dialogue' in standard German and where Joyce appears to have pared down Hauptmann's inherently elliptical and evasive dramatic language.²² Joyce's translatorial errors, departures from the original syntactic arrangements, or reliance on paraphrase and ellipsis allow Perkins to highlight the value of the translation process as a whetting stone for Joyce's artistic maturation manifest in his handling of Hauptmann's dramatic idiom and in his eventual mastery of gnomic/elliptical diction.

But it is important to add that translation of a play usually presupposes stage production and, like performances, productions 'aspire to the status of versions' rather than definitive or normative units.²³ Thus, rather than as a translation *sensu stricto*, Joyce's Hauptmann is best viewed as a version whose 'total constellation of visual and aural elements from out of which the words of the text' would emerge before an audience in the *actual production*. To translate a play means to recast it 'in the ways of a theatrical world for which it was never made', that is, 'from the language of one theatre to that of another' and entails 'linguistic transformation ... from virtual rewriting, through editing, cutting and the like, to dialectal substitutions and matters of handling allusions and references unfamiliar to

the audience'.²⁴ This process captures the essence of translation as a *literary performance* so central to the modernist experiment and so well anticipated in Joyce's translation of Hauptmann. Translation as a literary mode can engender a new work or medium, as Hollander illustrates in reference to Pound's translation of *Seafarer*: 'Going from one dialect of a language to another that is either historically or geographically or even sociologically removed ... there is always the temptation to try to blur the distinction between the two, to carve a new "dialect" out of the larger expanse of the inclusive language.'²⁵ Pound took the blurring and carving quite far when he defined the idea of 'interpretive translation' by stating that in 'cases where the "translator" [*sic*] is definitely making a new poem, [translation] falls simply in the domain of the original writing'.²⁶ For Hollander, this 'heuristic kind of translation' functions 'more as a process of teaching than as a finished ... object'.²⁷ Undeniably, the translation process 'taught' Joyce plenty about writing: from honing his stylistic and syntactic skills to refining his extraordinary semantic/lexical intuition. That Joyce's writing, in turn, 'teaches' about its own textual production, and that readers translate Joyce's works as they read them, is by now one of the many cardinal reading principles formulated by Fritz Senn in his decades-spanning opus chiselled into *Dislocutions: Reading as Translation* and into *Inductive Scrutinies*. From such readerly concepts as *provective analysis*, *dynamics of dislocation* or *anagnostic reading*, Senn's brand of translatorial criticism demands from readers the same mental acuity and investment as does Joyce's brand of translational writing.

'MAESTRO DI COLOR...'

Sustained critical studies of the 'Italian Joyce' have done much to reclaim the importance of Italy, of its language, literature and culture in Joyce's work. McCourt's portrait of 'Tarryeasty' contextualises Joyce's day-to-day life in a city where the dialect of *Triestino* absorbed not only other Italian dialects but also a plethora of European languages. This multilingual city was home to translators/interpreters working in 'araba, croato, czecca, ebraica, francese, greca, illirica, inglese, polacca, slovena, tedesca, ungarese',²⁸ while the families of Joyce's students frequently spoke four different languages. Trieste also boasted a newspaper called *Il Poliglotta*, which published articles in Italian, English, German, French and Spanish.²⁹ In this environment, Joyce's immersion in translatorial milieu was complete, in spite of his initially 'crippled Italian full of ulcers'³⁰ and 'covered with wounds and scabs'.³¹ Italian also became the target language of Joyce's

ambitions as a translator: from his articles for *Il Piccolo della Sera* and his lecture at the Università Popolare, to translations of George Moore's *Celibates* (*JJA* I 534–90)³² and of J. M. Synge's *Riders to the Sea* with Nicolò Vidacovich. In a 'genuine collaborative effort', Joyce and Vidacovich translated 'separate sections before combining their results and collectively completing their final version, Vidacovich offering his superior translating experience and his perfect Italian, Joyce drawing on his familiarity with Synge's Hiberno-English'. The resulting translation is 'remarkably true to the original' because it captures successfully 'Synge's difficult rhythms and sounds' and renders the flow of West-of-Ireland English as a simple and natural language without the use of any particular Italian dialect equivalent.³³ Lobner, however, registers the presence of 'Tuscan idioms and proverbial sayings' designed to render Synge's double-edged English idiom cast in Gaelic syntax.³⁴ Interestingly, the manuscript draft contains changes in spellings of the names presumably to aid stage pronunciation: 'Mauria' with a thicker 'ó' superimposed on the 'au', Mória, 'Bartley' overwritten by 'i' and 'á', Bártli, and 'Cathleen' altered to 'Cathlín' (*JJA* II). Generally, Joyce, unlike many purists, did not keep the original names in translation: he was fond of Italianising not only his own name but also the names of historical/literary figures in his articles and lectures. Thus we encounter Guglielmo Gladstone and Giovanni Mitchell (*JJA* I 680), or Oliviero Cromwell and Gualtiero Lynch (*JJA* I 692). And whereas Joyce convinced the Italian Grand Guignol Company to produce the play in 1909 (*L* I 67), it flopped because, according to one reviewer, its brevity, speed of action and its grotesqueness did not allow the Italian audiences 'to argue, to reflect, to think'.³⁵ Joyce was wiser three years later when he wrote to seek Yeats' consent to *publish* rather than produce *The Countess Cathleen* in his and Vidacovich's translation (*L* I 71). Judging from Joyce's letters, his ownership in the translation is unclear (*L* II 298; *L* I 71; *L* I 99), though Carla Marengo refers to it as the Vidacovich–Joyce translation when noting 'the lyrical qualities of the first version' of Yeats' play.³⁶

As early as in 1915, in Zurich, Joyce's own new play *Exiles* generated offers of translation into French and Russian (*L* I 85). In 1918, he briefed Miss Weaver on his plans to have *A Portrait* translated into both Danish (*L* I 116) and French (*L* I 120) and he was already at work to have his serialised *Ulysses* translated into Italian, as evidenced by his correspondence with Linati (*L* I 121, 132; *L* II 456) who later also translated *Exiles*. Joyce's well-documented and 'fierce desire for publicity'³⁷ was matched by his equally fierce desire to be translated which saw him brokering, overseeing and participating in the process.

‘... AVEC LA COLLABORATION DE L’AUTEUR’

If the existence of translations and self-translations published during Joyce’s lifetime – the German *Ulysses* in 1927, the French in 1929, *Anna Livia Plurabelle* in 1931 – could provisionally guide other translators as to what the author might or might not have found acceptable, Fritz Senn cautions that there is ‘no evidence that Joyce’s supervision entailed a careful examination of every word’.³⁸ Joyce’s correspondence, however, demonstrates aspects of his engagement, such as his laborious combing ‘word for word through the German translation for the 1st 100 pp. It is all right now. But it was a hard work.’³⁹ Joyce and Georg Goyert faced enormous time pressure from Rheinverlag and Joyce felt that, ‘as they announce the translation completely “revised by the author” they must allow me time or I shall be obliged to publish a disclaimer’.⁴⁰

Joyce’s involvement with the French *Ulisse* was even more taxing since it included mediation between both the translators and the Beach–Monnier duo. The ‘curious history’ of the French translation culminated in what Joyce labelled the ‘Trianons Treaty’ (*L* III 173). In the end, all three translators were honoured on the *Ulisse* titlepage: ‘Traduit de l’anglaise par M. Auguste Morel assisté par M. Stuart Gilbert. Traduction entièrement revue par M. Valéry Larbaud avec la collaboration de l’auteur.’ By December 1930, Joyce, with his ‘passion for extending other languages as he had extended English, was hard at work on the French version of *Anna Livia Plurabelle*’, convinced that ‘[t]here is nothing that cannot be translated’ (quoted in *JJ* 632). It is interesting to note the collaboration process:

while Joyce smoked in an armchair Léon read the English text, Soupault read the French, and Joyce ... would break into the antiphony to ask that the phrase be reconsidered. Joyce then explained the ambiguities he had intended, and he or one of his collaborators dug up an equivalent. Joyce’s great emphasis was upon *the flow of the line*, and he sometimes astonished them ... by *caring more for sound and rhythm than sense*. But one or the other would insist upon rigor of this kind, too’. (*JJ* 632–3; my emphasis)

Joyce’s youthful, programmatic proclamation of ‘silence’ – or, in this context, his tacit years of linguistic/translatorial apprenticeship; ‘exile’ – translatorial life in Pola, Trieste, Rome, Zurich and Paris; and ‘cunning’ – the synthesis of all languages via *poly-* and *meta* language of the *Wake*, cunningly befit the stages of his translatorial existence. Cunningly, too, the *Wake* comes close to rendering translation superfluous, for one would have to decide which ‘language’ to translate from, as I remember Fritz Senn remark in 1987. For Umberto Eco, it is pointless to translate the *Wake* because

'it is already translated'. Eco's close analyses of Joyce's French and Italian 'Finneganian' illustrate Joyce's unprecedented push for languages to express the hereto *un-expressible*.⁴¹ And if readers of the *Wake* can afford to be sweepingly 'panoramic scholars', translators are in the minority of 'thwarted mini-glossers'⁴² as they join Joyce in creating parallel poly- and metalanguages. We have it on David Pierce's authority that the Dutch bilingual edition of the *Wake* adapts 'the Dutch language to the language of the *Wake* rather than the other way round'.⁴³ As translation studies grapple with 'problems' of 'translating' the *Wake*, Joyce is having the last laugh after all: we are busy explicating his works – one hundred years and counting – and we have yet adequately to situate *Finnegans Wake* in the context of translation.

Coda: the psycho-politics of translation

Modernists were intensely concerned with translation, convinced that 'the establishment of personal and cultural identity requires engaging with the multiple Others of foreign languages and traditions'.⁴⁴ As a result of multiple textual/linguistic practices, translation partakes of historicity by incorporating ontological and deeply political questions about who does the translating, why and when. For Vicki Mahaffey, Joyce's fierce focus on 'the local' is not unlike Yeats' conflation of national experience into the local one. Both Yeats and Joyce 'trained their microscopes' on the 'individual moment – in life and in language' as they both 'honoured the precision of their words and the art of their arrangement making it imperative for their readers, too, to exercise precise local control in their reading'.⁴⁵ In response to a long history of oppression, Irish writers developed experimental writing where wordplay acquires political dimensions and 'emerges as a local, germicidal version of a larger, more overtly political iconoclasm'.⁴⁶ In the guise of wordplay and riddling, meaning proliferates and subverts the symbolic authority of language as law. To riddle, Mahaffey reminds us, is also to explain, to fill with holes, to puncture, to corrupt: 'If we riddle a container, it will spring leaks', releasing the content of such representations of containment as 'imperialism, patriarchy and highly conventional art forms'.⁴⁷ Acts of translation, thus, become encounters with riddling, with a multitude of proliferating lexical/semantic choices, with writing both *through* and *outside* an acquired language whose authority is inevitably shattered. If acts of translation enabled Joyce to transcend the hegemony of English, they also plunged him into a deeply intimate psycho-relationship with it, for one can hardly imagine a more hypolectic involvement with language than translation. Like Joyce's foreign language word-lists or his

Paris, Pola and Trieste notebooks, translations became vehicles of transference of the 'private' and 'local' into the 'political,' as they infused the agency of his English, 'translated into jinglish', (*FW* 275 F6), with poly- and metalingual dimensions of self-referentiality, bursting and rippling and riddling *ad infinitum*.

NOTES

1. Bruce Bradley, SJ, *James Joyce's Schooldays* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1982), p. 152 n. 95.
2. Fritz Senn, *Inductive Scrutinies*, ed. Christine O'Neill (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1995), p. 228.
3. Jean-Michel Rabaté, *James Joyce, Authorized Reader* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), p. 117.
4. C. P. Curran, *Under the Receding Wave* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1970), pp. 39, 80. See also Fran O'Rourke's essay in this volume.
5. *Ibid.*
6. See exam results for 1894–8 in Bradley, *James Joyce's Schooldays*, pp. 110–11, 116–17, 130–1, 140–1.
7. Full lists can be found in Eileen MacCarvill, 'The Collection of Examination Papers and University Calendars', Zurich James Joyce Foundation 1992.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 256–347.
9. Roman Jakobson, 'On Linguistic Aspects of Translation', in Rainer Schulte and John Biguenet, eds., *Theories of Translation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 145.
10. Jolanta Wawrzycka, "'Tell Us in Plain Words': Textual Implications of Re-Languaging Joyce', *Joyce Studies in Italy* 10 (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 2007): 34.
11. R. J. Schork, *Latin and Roman Culture in Joyce* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), p. 144.
12. Kevin Sullivan, *Joyce among the Jesuits* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 75–6.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
14. J. F. Byrne, *Silent Years: An Autobiography with Memoirs of James Joyce and our Ireland* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1953), pp. 58, 62.
15. Hugh Kenner, 'Joyce and Ibsen's Naturalism', *The Sewanee Review* 59 (Winter 1951): 78.
16. Douglas Knight, 'Translation: The Augustan Mode', in Reuben A. Brower, ed., *On Translation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 197.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 200–1.
18. Robert Spoo, *James Joyce and the Language of History: Dedalus's Nightmare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 58–60.
19. *PJ* 235.
20. Quoted in Jill Perkins, *Joyce and Hauptmann* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1978), p. 13.

21. Maria Tymoczko, 'Post-Colonial Writing and Literary Translation', in Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi, eds., *Postcolonial Translation: Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 23–4.
22. Perkins, *Joyce and Hauptmann*, pp. 29–30.
23. John Hollander, 'Versions, Interpretations, Performances', in Brower, ed., *On Translation*, p. 226.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 226–7.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 211.
26. *PJ* 200.
27. Hollander, 'Versions, Interpretations, Performances', p. 213.
28. John McCourt, *The Years of Bloom: James Joyce in Trieste, 1904–1920* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2000), p. 51 and n. 4.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Alessandro Francini Bruni, 'Joyce Stripped Naked in the Piazza', in Willard Potts, ed., *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1979), p. 12.
31. Silvio Benco, 'James Joyce in Trieste', *The Bookman; a Review of Books and Life* (1895–1933), 72, 4 (New York, Dec. 1930): 376.
32. See Serenella Zanotti, 'An Italianate Irishman: Joyce and the Languages of Trieste', *JJQ* 38.3–4 (2001): 411–30.
33. McCourt, *The Years of Bloom*, pp. 134–5.
34. Corinna del Greco Lobner, *James Joyce's Italian Connection: The Poetics of the Word* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1989), p. 10.
35. Quoted in McCourt, *Years of Bloom*, p. 136.
36. Carla Marengo Vaglio, 'Yeats' *The Countess Cathleen*: Vidacovich and Joyce's Translation', in *Joyce Studies in Italy* 2 (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1988): 198–9.
37. Eric Bulson, 'Joyce Reception in Trieste: The Shade of Joyce', in Geert Lernout and Wim Van Mierlo, eds., *The Reception of James Joyce in Europe*, 2 vols. (London: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004), II, p. 312.
38. Fritz Senn, *Joyce's Dislocutions: Essays on Reading as Translation*, ed. J. P. Riquelme (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), p. 3.
39. Melissa Banta and Oscar A. Silverman, eds., *James Joyce Letters to Sylvia Beach, 1921–1940* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 70.
40. *Ibid.*
41. Umberto Eco, *Experiences in Translation*, trans. Alistair McEwen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), pp. 108–11.
42. Senn, *Inductive Scrutinies*, p. 232.
43. David Pierce, *Joyce and Company*. (London: Continuum, 2006), p. 112.
44. Steven Yao, *Translation and the Languages of Modernism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 194.
45. Vicki Mahaffey, *States of Desire: Wilde, Yeats, Joyce, and the Irish Experiment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. ix–x.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

*Joyce and world literature**Eric Bulson*

Is it possible to talk about literary history from a planetary perspective? Not the literary history of a single country or continent, but one that accounts for the production and reception of literature across five continents over the course of a 2,500 year period? Who, after all, would feel comfortable working with so many different literary genres in hundreds of different languages even if they were in translation?¹ Once you begin to imagine the literary field as a multimillennial global phenomenon, the effects can be dizzying. Many who know a great deal about the history of the novel in England, France or the United States, for instance, would be hard pressed to explain what happened in China, Chile, Nigeria, Brazil, Japan and India. In the past fifty years, literary critics have been trained to limit, not expand, the geographical horizons of their research. And though globalisation has made the world seem smaller, our critical perspectives do not have to follow suit. Instead, they should be even wider, more accommodating and open to the fact that literature is involved in a complex network of local and global processes.

World literature is not a clearly defined field with a single methodology, canon and readymade vocabulary. In fact, we might say more accurately that it is a hotly contested *possibility* for literary study that involves critics with a variety of different interests. The debate about world literature has gained serious momentum in the past decade, but Joyce has not garnered much attention. And Joyce critics, in turn, have not been particularly interested in throwing him into the fray. In what follows, I will lay out what is really at stake in the world literature debate and explain how a globalising approach to Joyce might actually change how we read, study and teach him.

A lot of energy has already been spent trying to figure out what the term 'world literature' means in the first place. Is it a selection of poems, novels, plays and epics from around the globe, a critical approach that examines the circulation and exchange of literature, a new way to read (and *not* to read) comparatively, a quantitative mode of analysis devoted to the global circulation of particular genres?² The novel has received the greatest amount of

attention so far. But even though many theories have been formulated to explain where novels come from and how they work, they are all limited. Critics restrict their analysis either to a particular form, period, country or generic opposition (romance and novel, epic and novel, novel and novella). Once we begin to think of the novel as a genre that exists outside of Western Europe, significant cracks appear in the great novel theories of the twentieth century: Georg Lukacs restricted his analysis largely to the European novel of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Mikhail Bakhtin to Dostoevsky, Rabelais and Greek and Hellenistic novels between the first century BCE and third century CE, Ian Watt to the eighteenth-century novel in England. But what happens if we take Lukacs' opposition of the epic and novel to China where there is no epic tradition? Is Bakhtin's theory of Dostoevsky's poetics or the Greek and Hellenistic novel enough to explain the evolution of the modern novel outside of Europe? Take Watt out of eighteenth-century England and what happens?³ If there is no master theory to explain how the novel works across the continents and no single critic equally at home in dozens of languages and literatures to take up the task, what is to be done? For many critics, the answer is international collaboration, collective interdisciplinary work that will not only enlarge the scope of the material that can be worked on but also change the very horizons of our research.

World literature has meant different things throughout the twentieth century. Before the Second World War, it was another way of referring to 'the classics', the great tradition of mostly white, mostly male, Western writers. This canon of sacred texts came under serious scrutiny in the 1970s with the arrival of feminism and in the 1980s with post-colonial studies, and the scope of the literary field enlarged significantly as a result: there were more continents, more women, more writers of colour that the 'great tradition' had excluded. If world literature has become more prominent recently, it is part of a much older discussion. After reading his first Chinese novel in 1827, Goethe was astounded by how modern and European it seemed. For him, the Chinese novel was a significant example of literature's worldliness, and it got him thinking of a *Weltliteratur*, which he defined as 'a common world literature transcending national limits'⁴ and saw as a natural elaboration of what was happening in post-Enlightenment Europe:

We hear and read everywhere of the progress of the human race, of the wider prospects in world relationships between men. How far this is the case is not within my province to examine or to determine. For my part I seek only to point out to my friends my conviction that a universal world literature is in the process of formation.⁵

What Goethe meant by a 'universal world literature' did not develop very much from here: a few casual observations to friends and that is all. Nevertheless, it developed out of his conviction that literature did not belong only to Europe. He was beginning to imagine that there was a vast literary universe far beyond the Rhine.

One hundred and twenty years later, and in a radically different geopolitical context, the exiled Romance philologist Erich Auerbach took up the challenge again. He was troubled as much by the cold war ideology of the post-war world as he was by the widespread cultural homogenisation. 'The process of imposed uniformity', he lamented in an article entitled 'Philology and *Weltliteratur*' (originally published in 1952), 'continues its work, and serves to undermine all individual traditions. To be sure, national wills are stronger and louder than ever, yet in every case they promote the same standards and forms for modern life'.⁶ What worried Auerbach most of all was the fact that this 'standardisation' was creeping into the study of literature.⁷ Instead of working broadly across periods and national boundaries, critics were devoting themselves to a single language and national literature that made it impossible to explore the complex interrelationship between different literary traditions. For Auerbach, *Weltliteratur* was an antidote to academic specialisation. He wanted his fellow literary critics to pursue the kind of comparative work that could bring disparate races, cultures and languages together. Even as he was writing 'Philology and *Weltliteratur*', he realised that the critic he had in mind was fast disappearing: very few critics, especially in American literature departments, were committed to a German philological tradition that required working in a dozen languages (sometimes more) with an expansive knowledge of a Judaeo-Christian and Greco-Roman past.

Auerbach's ideal critic may have been hard to find in America and Europe, but all was not lost. He still imagined that there was a future for *Weltliteratur* if critics would acknowledge that their 'philological home is the earth' and not 'the nation'. For Auerbach, this distance from the nation was a way of belonging to the world at large. In 1969, Edward Said co-translated Auerbach's essay. His translation, which was completed shortly before he started working on his groundbreaking book *Orientalism*, represents a significant step in Said's development as a secular humanist. In the introduction to Auerbach's article, Said claims that *Weltliteratur* is a 'visionary concept' because it 'transcends national literatures without, at the same time, destroying their individualities'.⁸ In his books and essays, Said consistently returned to a concept that he called 'worldliness', which in its most general application refers to the 'circumstance, time, place, and society' of

the text, critic and the reader.⁹ This emphasis on ‘circumstance, time, place, and society’ directly challenged the apolitical and ahistorical modes of interpretation championed first by the New Critics and later by theorists who treated the text as a self-enclosed system detached from the world in which it was produced.

Said would eventually pioneer the field of post-colonial studies, but we find in this early translation that his critical interests were shaped by many of the concerns that would emerge again during the debates about world literature. What unites Said and Auerbach is a concern with literature’s power not only to shape how individuals imagine the world, but also to influence how they live in it. Said, like Auerbach, was optimistic that critics can facilitate the cross-cultural conversations that nations themselves do not. This ‘worldly’ approach to literature encourages critics to establish points of identification between different literatures and languages. It is an attempt to move literary analysis beyond national categories without losing out on the temporal and spatial specificity of every writer and text.

David Damrosch has also suggested that world literature readers and scholars should focus on the ways that texts travel in the world.¹⁰ If ‘worldliness’ is what we want, then we need to examine issues of literary circulation, translation and production. How, where, when and why certain texts make it from country to country is a complex process. Understanding how literature works globally requires that we scrutinise what is involved when individual texts are either appropriated or rejected by ‘foreign’ cultures. Damrosch recommends comparative and collaborative work that will let us bridge the gap between the ‘global generalist’ and the ‘national specialist’, and make it possible for us to see how texts travel across national boundaries and between languages.¹¹

In *The World Republic of Letters*, Pascale Casanova offers a lively and controversial examination of how writers from around the world accessed an international audience of readers in the early twentieth century by publishing their work in Paris.¹² As she sees it, Paris was a literary capital with an incredibly powerful coterie of publishers, editors and translators, who were not only capable of conferring prestige on local and foreign writers, but of providing the proper channels for distribution. The book business is not democratic and egalitarian but hierarchical, unequal and driven by European-based metropolitan centres, which have the power to ‘consecrate’ Western and non-Western writers alike. In the global marketplace, the English language dominates. Broad commercial success can only be achieved through translation into English and yet, as Casanova points out

in one fascinating statistic, only 3.3 per cent of the books published in Great Britain in 1990 were translations.

The most ambitious response to world literature so far has come from Franco Moretti. 'What does it mean', he asks, 'studying world literature?' In his 'Conjectures on World Literature', published in 2000 in the *New Left Review* he argues that world literature 'is not an object, it's a *problem*, and a problem that asks for a new critical method'.¹³ The answer cannot be found by reading more texts. Instead, we need to rethink *how* we read. And here, Moretti makes an important distinction between 'close' and, what he calls, 'distant' reading. For him, close reading is too parochial because it ignores the historical and social forces behind textual production. Moreover, it is provincial in scope and relies on a sacred canon of texts. Distant reading, on the other hand, is based on a quantitative, genre-specific approach to literary analysis. By looking at themes, tropes or genres and systems, we can begin to analyse formal variations on a global scale. What Moretti has in mind here is a 'comparative morphology', a way of explaining the formal compromise that occurs when the novel comes into contact with non-Western cultures and vice versa. Some feel threatened by Moretti's distant reading approach to literary study because it downplays direct textual analysis and challenges national identifications. But distant reading does not actually work without a particular closeness to the text, and Moretti knows this. We can compile quantitative data to chart the multiple rises of the novel from Berlin to Bombay, but we still need specialists who work in native languages to conduct the research and make it available.

In *Graphs, Maps, Trees*, Moretti puts his distant reading skills to work. In each of the three chapters, he offers different models for this abstract literary analysis: maps from geography, graphs from quantitative history and trees from evolutionary theory.¹⁴ Compiling graphs of the novelistic subgenres between the eighteenth and twentieth century, he seeks to explain why some survive while others fade into oblivion. Once graphed, some interesting patterns emerge in the novelistic production of Italy, France, Japan, Denmark and Britain. It becomes abundantly clear that at times politics is to blame for the rapid decline in novel reading and writing. When a war is on or the cost of paper is too high, people have other things to do. Moretti's discussion of the randomness of morphological diversity in the novel is one way to explain why the narrative devices of some novels succeed more than others. Inspired by Darwin, he wants to understand why literary devices like clues in detective fiction and free indirect discourse survived the cultural selection process. Quantitative analysis has the effect of foregrounding qualitative differences. You take a small unit of analysis, map,

graph or 'tree' it, and find a way to explain how it works. 'A materialist conception of form', Moretti calls it, one that can provide new conceptual possibilities for the study of a world literature.

The argument over world literature is still very much in progress. Or, to use Moretti's terminology, it is a 'problem' waiting to be solved with a 'new critical method'. The widespread hesitation about how we can *do* world literature might actually work to our advantage. We do not need to look for a totalising theory. It makes more sense to have a variety of critical approaches, each one concentrating on a particular dimension of this process: the cross-cultural comparisons of Damrosch, the literary sociology of Casanova or the quantitative, formal analysis of Moretti. Together they have begun to demystify what happens when texts move beyond the national borders of the countries they are written in. And together their work represents different directions that can be taken in the future. The world is big enough for all of them and the literary field is diverse enough to allow for the collaboration of specialists and generalists alike, the close readers working in a particular national tradition and language and the generalists, who can help to synthesise some of the broader issues surrounding the global circulation and exchange of literature.

And what of Joyce and world literature? Unlike so many of the other contexts discussed in this volume, there is no massive body of secondary criticism that allows for a retrospective glance. With world literature, in fact, just the opposite is true: it requires some speculation on what might happen in ten, twenty, maybe thirty years (who really knows?). But even if Joyce critics have not been explicitly involved with the world literature problem, there are a number of issues, questions and concerns about Joyce and the world that intersect in productive ways. I am thinking more specifically here about the vexed debates about his status as the Irish nationalist and the cosmopolitan European, one that first began while the man himself was still alive. For a long time, critics were content to think of Joyce only as the cosmopolitan exile, who left his native country at the age of twenty-two and wandered around Europe for the rest of his adult life. Ireland was obviously very much 'there' in his works, but it was generally treated as local colour. But in the 1990s, with the arrival of post-colonial studies, this would all change. The focus instead shifted to the Irish contexts of his writing and there was a serious reappraisal of Joyce's relationship to Irish culture, geography, history, politics, nationalism and identity. In their influential collection of essays on the subject, Derek Attridge and Marjorie Howes argue against the wholesale post-colonial appropriation of Joyce. For them, the post-colonial context radically reconditioned the way we talked about

language, history and politics in Joyce's works. But they also worried that the post-colonial Joyce had become a new metanarrative, one that treated Irish history as a single narrative about British imperialism and Joyce as an Irish writer cut off from Europe.¹⁵ Their word of 'caution' about Joyce and post-colonialism is revealing. In a relatively short span of time, post-colonial theory went from being one valuable context for his works to an interpretive cure-all that downplayed the efficacy of other theoretical approaches or modes of interpretation.

There is an important lesson to be learned here: post-colonialism brought Joyce back to Ireland, but at the price of weakening the bridge that connected him to Europe. Perhaps this was the inevitable outcome of the reductive critical models we have for understanding the relationship between Joyce, Ireland and Europe. Joyce is identified as *either* the cosmopolitan European *or* the Irish nationalist. But even when he was 'cosmopolitan', Joyce was always somewhere in Europe, firmly anchored in a 'foreign' culture, language, history and political context and he was always writing for an international literary marketplace. And his relationship with Ireland (long before it was an independent nation), though certainly formative to his intellectual and political development, was complicated by the condition of a voluntary exile that distanced him quite literally from the *politics* of his native country. The truth is that Ireland *and* Europe went into the making of Joyce, and he spent his entire life and literary career trying to mediate between them.

Some of Joyce's contemporaries imagined that there was another way to think about his place in the world: Joyce was cosmopolitan because he was Irish. In a lecture on *Ulysses* shortly before it was published, the French critic, poet and translator Valéry Larbaud had this to say:

It must be remarked that in writing *Dubliners*, *Portrait of the Artist*, and *Ulysses*, [Joyce] has done as much as all the heroes of Irish nationalism to win Ireland the respect of intellectuals everywhere. His work gives back to Ireland, or rather gives to the young Ireland, an artistic physiognomy, an intellectual identity; it does for Ireland what Ibsen's work did in its time for Norway, what Strindberg's did for Sweden, what Nietzsche's did for Germany at the end of the nineteenth century, and what the books of Gabriel Miró and Ramón Gómez de la Serna have just done for contemporary Spain ... In short, it may be said that with the work of James Joyce, and in particular with *Ulysses*, which is soon to appear in Paris, Ireland makes a sensational entry into the first rank of European literature.¹⁶

Larbaud, long before Pascale Casanova, explains how one particular trajectory of modernist literary production worked. Writers from around Europe and elsewhere came to Paris to get into the world. Joyce, no matter how

talented he was, did not become a monumental literary figure on his own: he depended upon financiers, critics, translators and editors (like Larbaud), who would be able to get his work to an audience of readers. By leaving Ireland, then, Joyce was able to break into an international literary marketplace. And yet what is so striking about Larbaud's description is the way that he complicates the directions and destinations of this exchange. By coming to Europe, Joyce made a place for Irish literature. But at the same time he also expanded the boundaries of European literature by opening Europe up to Ireland.

For Larbaud, the space of modernism was international and largely confined to a few metropolitan centres in Europe, America and the United Kingdom, but it does not have to be so restricted for us today. In fact, it would be incredibly productive to enlarge our map of modernism so that it extends to countries and literary traditions outside of this traditional Western frame. There is, as I mentioned before, a great deal of scepticism about any global readjustment of the literary field. When we venture beyond our specialisation or linguistic competence, there is always the threat of looking like a charlatan. But we might also find that the specialists and generalists can balance each other out. Collaborative work will not only expand the field of material that can be worked on, but it will also lead to new questions that often go unasked when one chooses an exclusively close or distant approach.

It should not be too hard to convince Joyce scholars how important collaborative intellectual work can be. *Finnegans Wake* is, after all, one of the few texts best experienced in a group. Almost a decade before *Finnegans Wake* was even published, Joyce brought together a group of scholars and devotees and asked them to analyse a particular dimension of his unwieldy creation as it was continuing to appear in serial form. But the more that readers come together to compile annotations, glossaries and guidebooks, the more the universe of the *Wake* expands. Reading, then, works centripetally. Every word spins outward and brings readers further afield from their own comfort zone. Of course, readers will always recognise what is most familiar to them, but part of the fun of *Finnegans Wake* comes from the estrangement of not knowing. And the estrangement I am describing here is not only for the *Wake*: it applies to Joyce in general.

World literature will certainly give us multiple opportunities for estranging Joyce. This process has been underway with the Irish and European contexts for some time, but it can be drastically expanded if we incorporate the complicated history of Joyce translation around the world. There are few countries nowadays that do not have official or unofficial versions of

Dubliners, *Portrait* and *Ulysses* (at least in excerpted form). Geert Lernout and Wim Van Mierlo recently edited an ambitious two-volume collection of essays on Joyce's reception that includes contributions from specialists on Joyce's circulation in twenty different countries (all of them European).¹⁷ In these essays, we discover that Joyce's reputation may have preceded him, but his popularity, and occasional lack of popularity, depended in large part on the politics, history, language and literary tradition of each country. To Larbaud and so many others, Joyce dazzled readers in Europe, England and America with his experiments, but not everyone was convinced. The first Danish translations of Joyce's works in the 1960s, for instance, failed to trigger much critical attention.¹⁸ Joyce received an underwhelming response in Iceland and Norway as well. When the Icelandic critic and translator Kristmann Guðmundsson published his two-volume 'World literary history' in 1955–6, Joyce received a meagre ten lines. He was cast as 'one of the century's most unusual and original writers on English soil'. The difficulty of Joyce's books made him accessible to very few readers, and Guðmundsson was not convinced that it was worth the effort.¹⁹

Every country tells a different story. It is refreshing to move away from the more popular critical histories of America, England, France, Germany, Spain and Italy and discover that the appreciation, and general awe, was not unanimous. It also foregrounds the reality that there are different cultural contexts for his works, and each of them can challenge some of the assumptions we make about the readings we anchor in Western literary histories. Although this collection makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of Joyce's reception history, it is confined, as the title openly suggests, to Europe. If we want a more comprehensive view of Joyce's place in the world, then assessments from Latin America, Africa and Asia need to be included. A truly global view of Joyce's reception will produce the estrangement I mentioned earlier and enable us to see him in entirely new ways. For Damrosch, it makes sense for us to play off Joyce's status as a 'hypercanonical' author, associated with a major tradition, and a 'countercanonical' author, associated with a minor one.²⁰ He suggests that instead of simply reaffirming Joyce's status as a canonical Western writer, it would be productive to establish comparisons with many of his non-Western precursors, contemporaries and successors: *Dubliners*, in Damrosch's world literary reading, would be paired up with the short stories of Rabindranath Tagore and Higuchi Ichiyo (Joyce and Ichiyo did not know one another but both were influenced by Henrik Ibsen).

If world literature is going to have a future in Joyce studies and vice versa, then it is necessary to rethink where we orient him on the literary-historical

map. This requires breaking from some of the temporal and geographical models that have been in the making for over a century. But it will allow for the kind of comparative work that can bring Joyce into contact with non-Western literatures and languages. Today, we anchor Joyce's works in a prestigious tradition that includes Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Flaubert and Woolf. What would happen if we also include China? It is worth keeping in mind that the Chinese novel predated its Western equivalent by a century and developed in response to the forces regularly associated with modernity (colonialism, industrialisation and capitalism). For centuries, the Chinese novel was in competition with a historiographical tradition and 'literary language', and only came of age after the 4 May movement in 1917 when a Chinese vernacular was adopted as the national language.

There are a number of ways that this knowledge of the Chinese novel can open up, and effectively challenge and complicate, our understanding of Joyce: for one thing, it raises questions about the formal responses to modernity (comparative colonialisms), the clash of major and minor languages (think of English and Irish) and techniques of representation (plot, characterisation, narrative voice, etc.). Indeed, the Chinese novel does have a lot in common with those that can be found in England, America, France and Germany, but it is also still very much a product of its own time and place. And there are dozens of comparative trajectories to choose from if we want Joyce studies to go global. But whatever happens in the future, one thing is for sure.

NOTES

1. One planetary approach to American literary history can be found in Wai Chee Dimock's 'Deep Time: American Literature and World History', *American Literary History* 13:4 (2001): 755–75.
2. For a representative sampling of essays about issues related to the study of world literature, see Christopher Prendergast, ed., *Debating World Literature* (London and New York: Verso, 2004). See also Wai Chee Dimock, *Through Other Continents: American Literature across Deep Time* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), and Wai Chee Dimock and Lawrence Buell, eds., *Shades of the Planet: American Literature as World Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).
3. I discuss this more fully in my review of Franco Moretti's five-volume collection of essays entitled *Il Romanzo*. See 'Words of Far Away', *Times Literary Supplement*, 23 June 2006: 6–7.
4. Johann Peter Eckermann, *Conversations with Eckermann*, ed. J. K. Morehead, trans. John Oxenford (London: Everyman, 1930).
5. *Ibid.*

6. Erich Auerbach, 'Philology and *Weltliteratur*', trans. Edward and Maire Said, *The Centennial Review* 13 (Winter 1969): 2.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Introduction to 'Philology and *Weltliteratur*': 1.
9. For a concise and early articulation, see Edward Said, 'The World, the Text, and the Critic', in *The World, the Text, and the Critic*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), pp. 34–5.
10. David Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).
11. *Ibid.*, p. 286.
12. Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, trans. M.B. Debevoise (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005).
13. Franco Moretti, 'Conjectures on World Literature,' *New Left Review* 1 (new series) (Jan.–Feb., 2000): 55.
14. Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History* (New York and London: Verso, 2005).
15. Derek Attridge and Marjorie Howes, eds., *Semicolonial Joyce* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 2–4.
16. Valéry Larbaud, *Ce vice impuni, la lecture: domaine anglais* (Paris: Gallimard, 1925), p. 255. Translation can be found in Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, pp. 128–9.
17. Geert Lernout and Wim Van Mierlo, eds., *The Reception of James Joyce in Europe*, 2 vols. (London: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004).
18. Jacob Greve and Steen Klitgaard Povlsen, 'The Reception of James Joyce in Denmark', in Lernout and Van Mierlo, eds., *The Reception of James Joyce in Europe*, 1, p. 116.
19. Qtd in Astradur Eysteinnsson, 'Late Arrivals: James Joyce in Iceland', in Lernout and Van Mierlo, eds., *The Reception of James Joyce in Europe*, p. 93.
20. David Damrosch, 'World Literature in a Postcanonical, Hypercanonical Age', in Haun Saussy, ed. *Comparative Literature in an Age of Globalization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), pp. 43–52.

CHAPTER 13

Twenty-first-century critical contexts

Sean Latham

Joyce studies are notorious for their wanton profligacy, having generated, according to the OCLC Online Union Catalog, over 15,000 monographs, articles, theses, translations and editions. The 'James Joyce Checklist', a regular feature of the *James Joyce Quarterly* almost since its inception, lists hundreds of entries in each issue from around the globe and across the humanistic disciplines. Any attempt to imagine the twenty-first-century contexts for Joyce studies – or to dream even tentatively of their immediate future – must first take some account of this past. 'Doing justice to the reality of history', however, as the sociologist Philip Abrams writes, 'is a matter of treating what people do in the present as a struggle to create a future out of the past, seeing the past not just as the womb of the present but the only raw material out of which the present can be constructed'.¹ Joyce grasped this point intuitively and sought throughout his work not simply to reconstruct the always already vanishing world of Edwardian Dublin, but to assemble from the fragments of his own past as an Irish colonial subject the 'raw material' for an evolving modernity. Indeed, the fact that his books continue to speak so powerfully to us and retain, even after decades of explication, the ability to fire our critical and creative imaginations speaks directly to just how discerning a judge he was in selecting these materials. Again and again we return to his relatively meagre canon – a few short stories, three novels, a play and a handful of critical writings – and find there not only opportunities to deploy evolving critical theories, but the resources necessary to devise entirely new ones. Imagining a future for Joyce thus requires precisely what this larger collection promises: a wide-ranging survey of where exactly we have been and the ways in which an increasingly global array of critics use Joyce's work to build their own present.² Predicting any Joycean future (or even several) is, of course, at best fanciful, at worst impossible. Thus, this essay assesses some twenty-first-century contexts which might best be seen as quixotically prescriptive rather than confidently predictive – an attempt to assemble my own collection of critical 'raw materials' into a usable future.

To begin, we must acknowledge that although Joyce may be long dead, he has not been in the ground quite long enough to surrender his intellectual property rights to the public domain. As a consequence, the very point of departure for Joyce scholars – the texts themselves – remains subject to a bewildering and constrictive array of legal controls. Joyce's grandson, Stephen James Joyce, largely administers the trust holding the international copyrights to *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* as well as a vast array of archival materials, and he has been extremely litigious over the last few decades. As Robert Spoo argues, he has sought not only to defend his rights, but to extend them, using the law to address a grievance that 'has as much to do with the *kinds* of uses being made of [Joyce's] works as with the fact of use *per se*'.³ As a result, he has often sought to control not just the dissemination of Joyce's works, but their particular use by individual (even specifically targeted) readers, critics and artists. The mechanisms for doing this are varied, ranging from real or threatened lawsuits to demands for often exorbitant permissions fees. The consequences are so serious that they prompted the International James Joyce Foundation in 2006 to draw up the 'James Joyce: Copyright, Fair Use, and Permission FAQ'.⁴ The Estate's copyright policy essentially blocks scholars from producing new editions of the major works published after 1922. Although the last few years have seen the publication of numerous new editions of *Dubliners* and *A Portrait* (both largely out of copyright), we still remain confined to only three quite substantively different editions of *Ulysses* and one of *Finnegans Wake* while the ability to cite letters, journals and notebooks is tightly restricted. The absence of copyrights would, of course, do nothing to create a single, definitive set of reading texts, but it would allow for a broader array of options to circulate – including potentially rich digital editions capable of generating new kinds of reading and interpretive practices.⁵ Instead we must deal with a situation that is frustrating but by no means disabling and that can be seen as an inevitable consequence of working with texts which remain so close to us in time, themselves shaped and riven by the same forces structuring the present that we continue to share with Joyce.

This is not to say that copyright constraints are without consequence, and they have lately become even more pressing, in part, because of the ways they limit two rapidly evolving and closely intertwined fields which have both played key roles in Joyce's ascension as *the* modernist writer par excellence: biography and textual criticism. Other essays in this volume deal extensively with both of these areas which constitute an essential element of twenty-first-century Joyce. Recent work like John McCourt's *The Years of Bloom*, Brenda Maddox's *Nora* and Carol Loeb Shloss' *Lucia Joyce: To Dance in the Wake*, have all revealed the limits of

Richard Ellmann's monumental but nevertheless problematic study first published in 1959.⁶ Fresh biographical techniques and a welter of new materials require critics to rethink the heroic narratives that have been handed down to us, adding contextual density to the life and to the texts which so brilliantly and insistently draw on that life. Having so long staked the literary critical enterprise on the foundation of the intentional fallacy, some corrective action is now necessary in order to develop new models for thinking about Joyce's relation to his characters, models which move beyond a simplistic correspondence while acknowledging the ways in which Joyce deliberately – and often brilliantly – insisted on the integration of fiction and biography. Similarly, we need to develop further the impulses driving genetic criticism and other kinds of textual approaches which attempt to link the fictional works to their diverse sources in newspapers, novels, advertisements and other ephemera. The collection, *How Joyce Wrote Finnegans Wake: A Chapter-by-Chapter Genetic Guide*, edited by Luca Crispi and Sam Slote provides one useful emerging approach.⁷ So too does Michael Groden's evolving attempt to write a biography of *Ulysses* itself, one which interweaves textual, historical and biographical materials into a story of the book's invention and creation.⁸

As vital as these textual and biographical projects are, they also run the inevitable risk of simply reinforcing an increasingly dull story about the inevitability of Joyce's genius. Following the path-breaking work of Lawrence Rainey, however, scholars have increasingly begun to examine the interlocking flows of social, historical and economic capital which structured the rise of modernism and facilitated the peculiar ascent of Joyce from a relatively obscure Irish short-story writer to an international literary phenomenon. Such work requires, as Rainey notes, turning away from work on the page in order to consider the full array of strategies 'whereby the work of art invites and solicits its commodification', including limited print runs, advertising, introductions, reviews and serialisation.⁹ This creation of what Aaron Jaffe calls the modernist 'brand' was an essential component of Joyce's canonisation and continues to structure in powerful and largely unremarked ways our encounter with Joyce's texts.¹⁰ To buy and read a book like *Ulysses* or *Finnegans Wake* is never an innocent act, but is instead predicated upon and inextricably entangled with what I elsewhere call 'the logic of snobbery'.¹¹ Working out the consequences of this requires that we constantly interrogate the pleasures and even the vaunted difficulties so essential to these texts.

Moving beyond the text as it appears on the page also opens up a new vantage on the circulation of the works themselves. Beginning with the

appearance of 'My love is in a light attire', in the August 1904 issue of *Dana*, almost all of Joyce's writing appeared initially in magazines, a fact which has been too long ignored by critics and scholars wrangling over the creation of a definitive edition.¹² Far from mere precursors, these periodical contexts played a crucial role in shaping Joyce's initial reception and attending to them allows us to place his work into often surprising dialogue with larger cultural and economic forces otherwise obscured by too strictly fetishising the book. Owing, in fact, to the limitations imposed by copyright, the *Longman Anthology of British Literature* reprints the version of 'Nausicaa' which readers first saw in the pages of the *Little Review* and which led to the twelve-year ban on *Ulysses* in the United States. Precisely because it is so different from the 1922 version which eventually appeared in the Shakespeare and Company edition, it offers new ways of approaching the episode – not as part of a larger, organic whole, but instead as a fragmented serial embedded in a turbulent modernity. Reading Joyce's work in the context of the articles, advertisements, illustrations and treatises amidst which it typically first appeared generates a new sense of cultural richness and connection which far from obscuring Joyce the author, more firmly locates him within the very flows and contingencies of modern life which he so powerfully explores.¹³

This evolving approach to Joyce's work through the study of print culture, furthermore, gives us the opportunity to move beyond what David E. Latane Jr calls 'the fetishism of first appearances' and look instead at how the texts circulated both before and after their initial publication.¹⁴ As David Earle has recently discovered, a number of Joyce's short stories were published in a bewildering array of American pulp magazines, with 'Two Gallants' and 'Eveline' appearing beside often luridly illustrated tales of detection and adventure.¹⁵ Similarly, the usually despised Samuel Roth, who earned Joyce's ire by publishing a pirated edition of *Ulysses* in his magazine, *Two Worlds Monthly*, actually secured a significant audience for this novel and played a key role in its initial dissemination. In shedding New Critical prejudices about the sanctity of the text as an autonomous and inviolate 'well-wrought urn', critics are just beginning to map the densely interlocking institutions which conditioned Joyce's rise and reception, while tracing newly emergent networks of meaning and reception. Even now, a rich set of questions remain to be first posed and then answered about how Joyce's work circulates, particularly as it is 'remediated' by digital technology and web-based dissemination.¹⁶ The hyper-text edition of *Ulysses* initially began to explore some of these issues before being shuttered, but critics are still in a position to devise new digital tools for reading these texts,

embedding them within ever more dense networks of interpretive, textual and theoretical information.

Beginning with Marshall McLuhan's seminal studies of *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce critics have regularly examined the ways in which the new media of Joyce's day made its way into the novels and stories.¹⁷ Leopold Bloom, of course, is an ad canvasser and spends much of June 1904 thinking not only about the ads he wants to sell, but about the increasing penetration of advertising technologies into the fabric of daily life. As film studies, in particular, has expanded in the last decade beyond its own formalist practices, it has become a productive critical partner, offering new tools for examining such visual intertexts. A number of critics, including Philip Sicker, Thomas Jackson Rice, Margot Norris, Fritz Senn, Carla Marengo Vaglio and Maria DiBattista, have examined the ways in which cinematic language, forms and images are embedded throughout Joyce's works, ranging from the surprisingly mature montage at the heart of 'Wandering Rocks' to the pornographic pleasures of the Mutoscope in 'Nausicaa'.¹⁸ We still need, however, to get a clearer grasp not only of the movies Joyce himself might have seen, but of the techniques and themes he may have taken from them. Thanks to recent work by R. Brandon Kershner and Louise E. J. Honby, furthermore, we are just beginning to understand the importance not only of film, but of photography and the ways in which its narrative and temporal structures intersect with Joyce's writing.¹⁹ Owing primarily to the introduction of half-tone printing techniques at the end of the twentieth century, Joyce came of age in a culture suddenly awash in visual materials of all kinds, including advertisements, postcards, calendars, posters, greeting cards, political cartoons and illustrated magazines. In 2004, the National Library of Ireland published *A Joycean Scrapbook*, containing an array of these print artifacts, such as advertisements from the *Lady's Pictorial* for women's undergarments and the leaflets both supporting and opposing Home Rule which would have circulated throughout Dublin.²⁰ One major task that clearly beckons is the critical examination of this so-called 'ephemera', the visually dense material that made up so much of the city's daily life. It is possible, after all, to think about a book like *Finnegans Wake* as an attempt to stage a certain end to the novel and with it a particular kind of print-literacy which was suddenly and abruptly giving way to these new visual forms and rhetorics. Such cultural practices are everywhere evident in Joyce's works and we have begun the work of dredging them up from the archives. What remains, however, is to develop new models of inter-mediation which will allow us to think how these various aspects of a radically expanded print culture shape one another, and

how they, in turn, intersect with other emergent forms of mass mediation, including the radio, the phonograph, the telephone and even the television.²¹

Embedding Joyce within media studies means treating him not simply as a modernist writer, but as both the object and agent of a larger set of interlocking modernities. As post-colonial theory has transformed our understanding of nation and canonicity over the last decade, numerous critics have contested the traditional story of Joyce as an isolated and autonomous aesthete at the core of international modernism. Emer Nolan, for example, taught us to recognise the complexity of Joyce's nationalist politics, while Andrew Gibson has meticulously uncovered the anti-colonial rhetoric which pervades *Ulysses*.²² As a consequence, two rather distinct and even antagonistic Joyces have emerged – one Irish and one European – each with separate and distinct aesthetic, political and cultural agendas. This is quickly proving, however, to be a valuable and creative dialectic, revealing the ways in which the deep structures of imperialism, cosmopolitanism, modernism and nationalism are all implicated in one another. In tracing these strands, we see how difficult they are to disarticulate from one another and how important it is to develop flexible interpretive models founded on simultaneity rather than synthesis. Most significantly, this means a move away from Marxist interpretive models which insist on a singular modernity and a shift towards what Susan Stanford Friedman calls 'a polycentric, planetary concept of modernity', characterised by 'velocity, acceleration, and dynamism of shattering change across a wide spectrum of societal institutions ... change that interweaves the cultural, economic, political, religious, familial, sexual, aesthetic, technological, and so forth'.²³ Locating Joyce's work within a global conception of modernity will have numerous and significant consequences, providing readers and critics alike with new points of entry which no longer revolve around Anglo-American formalism, continental philosophy or New Historical contextualisation.

Imagine, for example, what it might mean to abandon 'modernism' not only as a term, but as an entire way of thinking about texts like *Ulysses* or *A Portrait*. The word itself bizarrely manages to conflate formalist and historicist models in a convenient but increasingly fragile whole, one which inevitably persists despite recent efforts to replace it with 'modernisms' or to forge a 'new modernist studies'.²⁴ Neither is post-modernism a sufficiently flexible critical term, despite the fact that it has proven invaluable in exploring Joyce's continuing engagement with important cultural, aesthetic and philosophical work beyond the narrow historical horizon of the twentieth century's first few decades. A Joyce creatively embedded not in modernism, but in Friedman's 'polycentric' modernity activates new and

heretofore latent critical and textual energies. Learning to read Joyce's modernities means that the texts cannot be reconciled with themselves and must instead be connected to mobile and often provisional interpretive networks which can neither be fully synthesised nor mapped. Indeed, in such a model, 'modernism' itself might best be understood as one particularly dense node, a point of intersection where aesthetics, empire, race and gender overlap, activating flows of pleasure and information through the text. As Joyce's work circulates in a more fully global context (thanks, in part, to the ever-expanding number of translations), however, new nodes are continually taking shape, many of which cannot be easily or efficiently routed through modernism. Some reach back into and beyond the Victorian period, for example, while others wend their way into post-Communist Eastern Europe and the Pacific rim.

Perhaps one of the most intriguing challenges for Joyce studies, in fact, is the need to make sense not only of how to negotiate books like *Ulysses*, but of why so many readers continue to do so. In 'Who "Curls Up" with *Ulysses*? A Study of Non-Conscripted Readers of Joyce', Frances Devlin-Glass provides the results of a fascinating survey she took of Bloomsday reading groups in Melbourne, Australia.²⁵ Such studies, however, are surprisingly rare, though they are implicitly conducted nearly every time someone teaches an elective course on *Ulysses*. What continues to draw readers of all kinds to these books, we must ask ourselves, and what do they make of them once they are engaged? The rhetoric of Joyce studies, in fact, has perhaps too long been shaped by what John Guillory identified some time ago as the university's own investment in the 'cultural capital' of difficult works – most made all the more difficult through the efforts of scholars and teachers seeking to reveal ever deeper and more arcane levels of meaning.²⁶ Such work is, of course, vital, but it also remains problematically staked on an often explicit opposition between 'common' and professional readers. This troubling dichotomy is itself largely derived from a modernism founded on the myth that it occupied an autonomous cultural reserve, separated by a 'great divide' from a degraded mass culture. Moving beyond modernism therefore necessitates moving simultaneously beyond a sense of professional exceptionalism to determine the ways in which different kinds of readers put Joyce to work in contexts well beyond the academy. On the one hand, this means thinking sociologically about the texts, inquiring (sometimes even empirically) into the act of reading itself and the ways in which they operate to form new and surprising kinds of community.²⁷ On the other hand, it also means considering the complex and multiform ways Joyce himself addressed and even sought to configure his own scene of

reading. John Nash's *James Joyce and the Act of Reception: Reading, Ireland, Modernism* provides one particularly rich point of departure here, arguing that Joyce creates a 'writing of reception', using his work to complicate the epistemological and critical assumptions underlying the act of reading itself.²⁸

This emerging focus on readers leads once again back to the challenges posed by copyright and the constraints currently in place that effectively limit what can legally be done to the text. This is not, however, the only intersection between Joyce's work and the law, and a great deal more work remains to be done at this nodal interface as well. We know that Joyce himself was highly litigious and nearly every one of his books found itself entangled in legal complications, ranging from the fears of libel which so long delayed the publication of *Dubliners* to the famous obscenity trials which plagued *Ulysses*. The relationship between law and literature, however, neither begins nor ends in a courtroom and legal issues of all sorts pervade these texts, and include the regulations governing marriage, inheritance, immigration, capital punishment, suffrage and citizenship. In *The Art of Alibi*, Jonathan Grossman argues that as the realist novel reached its pinnacle in the nineteenth century, it was increasingly 'shaped by the complementary and competing storytelling structure of the law court' as a 'symbolic and real place where stories are constructed'.²⁹ This close relationship between novelistic and legal modes of knowledge can be fruitfully expanded into Joyce's work, beginning, of course, with the trial at the heart of *Finnegans Wake*, but extending to include other texts as well. The gaps and fissures in *Dubliners*, for example, lead to what Margot Norris calls 'suspicious readings', inviting a kind of epistemological forensics aimed less at finding a singular truth than at sorting a complicated array of facts, stories, conjectures, corroboration, hearsay and innuendo.³⁰

Distinct from yet closely related to this expanded engagement between Joyce and the law is a still evolving set of debates about Joyce and ethics, taking shape most prominently in work like Marian Eide's *Ethical Joyce*, Jean Michel Rabaté's *Joyce and the Politics of Egoism* and Karen Lawrence's essay on Joycean hospitality, 'Close Encounters'.³¹ 'For Joyce', Eide writes, 'the first ethical consideration is the experience and expression of sympathy within the preservation of difference'.³² This model is immensely productive, not only because it so creatively extends feminist theoretical models, but because it also provides yet another way of escaping a modernist inheritance which so valued Eliotic impersonality that qualities like sympathy and even its uncomfortably close cousin, sentimentality, were drained of any legitimate aesthetic power. As a result, Joyce's books are again open

not only to ethics, but to emotion that need not necessarily be fed through what Stephen Dedalus in *A Portrait* calls 'the spiritual-heroic refrigerating apparatus' (P 252). Alongside modernism's cool ironies, we are thus beginning to encounter a warm sense of community and connection which cannot be reduced to simplistic identification, for example, with Leopold Bloom as an archtypical 'everyman'. Sentimental connections and ironic distance alike pervade Joyce's work, and the evolving work on ethics provides a way of reworking them into a more complex, less polarised relationship.

Thinking through ethics and sentimentality entails a rededicated focus on the relationship between self and other, but it should now lead us beyond this as well. As exciting as such work is, after all, it remains surprisingly limited by the general lack of attention Joyce scholars in general have paid to the vibrant field of eco-criticism. This is perhaps inevitably a result of the way in which we have treated the major texts as quintessentially urban fictions, carefully tracing the steps of nearly every character through busy intersections and down poverty-stricken alleyways. These same novels, however, are pervaded by flowers, hills, rivers and weather of all sorts. Indeed, despite all the work that has been done on theorising Joyce's modernity, missing from almost all the accounts is an awareness of ecology and a critical attentiveness to Joyce's own theory of nature. Despite recording the dizzying perambulations of men and women around the city, after all, *Dubliners*, *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* all end with scenes of surprising yet also largely unremarked natural beauty: the snow falling gently over Ireland, the fields flushed with flowers atop Howth Head and the Liffey itself moving 'through grass behush the bush ... a way a lone a last a loved a long the' (FW 628.12, 15–16). What does it mean that these books end by carrying us out of the city, even if on a flow that carries within itself the polluted effluvium of urban life? Imagining an eco-critical Joyce invites us to think not just about rivers and flowers, but to inquire into the ecologies of both text and context, uncovering a 'green' Joyce which reaches from the blighted landscapes of the Famine, through the polluted waters of the Liffey, to the waste Shem recycles into 'the mystery of himsel in furniture' (FW 184.9–10).

'For what reason did he mediate on schemes so difficult of realisation?' the interrogatory narrator asks about Bloom near the end of 'Ithaca' (U 17.1754). So might we ask any Joyce critic faced at the start of the twenty-first century with so daunting and brilliant a critical past. There may be no single answer to such a question, but it is worth posing continuously since so many of us return so very often to these texts. Now

a part of our collective past, Joyce's works continue to provide remarkably flexible yet durable materials for assembling an array of critical futures. The excavations and emerging foundations this essay surveys are neither exhaustive nor definitive and I have left aside vast amounts of material on narratology, queer theory, psychoanalysis and other major fields of inquiry, most of which are addressed elsewhere in this volume. What should be evident by now, however, is that because Joyce has become part of a 'polycentric' array of modernities, his texts have simultaneously become all but inexhaustible. They now ramify through an increasingly global network of aesthetic, legal, political, cultural, educational and historical fields, generating a force which carries them inevitably beyond any single frame. Thus, the most daunting critical challenge we now face is developing the tools necessary not to unify all of these Joyces, but to constellate them without resorting to any one single point of reference. Such a scheme is unquestionably 'difficult of realisation', but like Bloom's utopian thoughts, it can produce for Joyce and his global readers alike a constantly 'renovated vitality' capable of carrying us well into the twenty-first century (*U* 17.1758).

NOTES

1. Philip Abrams, *Historical Sociology* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), p. 8.
2. Other such surveys have also appeared in the last few years and include Michael Patrick Gillespie and Paula Gillespie, eds., *Recent Criticism of James Joyce's Ulysses: An Analytical Review* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2002); Joseph Kelly, *Our Joyce: From Outcast to Icon* (Austin: Texas University Press, 1998); and Derek Attridge, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
3. Robert Spoo, 'Injuries, Remedies, Moral Rights, and the Public Domain', *JJQ* 37.4 (2000): 344.
4. <http://english.osu.edu/research/organizations/ijjf/copyrightfaqs.cfm>, accessed 25 May 2007.
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PART III

Historical and cultural contexts

*Being in Joyce's world**Cheryl Temple Herr*

We are always moving further from the material world that Joyce and his characters inhabited. Even when we exclude Joyce's travels and limit our definition of that world to early twentieth-century Dublin, and even when we are equipped with copious information about the history, politics, religion, economics and sociology of Joyce's era, the fictions themselves often bring us up short, forcing us to attend to how Dubliners coped – smoothly or inexpertly, unreflectively or thoughtfully – with the environment that situated and shaped their way of being. Joyce's thinking about human activity began from quasi-Aristotelian premises about a generic relation to a generic world. From these premises, Joyce arrived at some of the positions occupied by his coeval, Martin Heidegger, who had also revisited Aristotle in order to rethink the philosophical tradition. In particular, Heidegger's attention to Being-in-the-World – to situated human beings – can help us to understand Joyce's descriptions of this or that Dubliner's ordinary activities. Invoking the phenomenological tradition is not to deny that Joyce was fascinated by his early reading of Aristotelian philosophy, which sharply separates perceiving subject from observed object. However, this primary attention to an individual's visual experience was challenged by his awareness that a given individual necessarily engaged with and was reciprocally constituted by a specific historical world.

The context that we call everyday life has been a principal object of study for historians, anthropologists and sociologists from the beginnings of their disciplines. Towards the end of the twentieth century, many literary scholars turned their attention from other theoretical programmes to writers' depictions of the everyday. This move was prompted in part by classic studies such as Michel de Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life* and Henri Lefebvre's *The Critique of Everyday Life*; by the writings of Sigmund Freud, Walter Benjamin, Fernand Braudel, Georg Simmel, Luce Giard, Roland Barthes, Erving Goffman, Dorothy Smith and Raymond Williams; and by the logic of Britain's Mass-Observation Archive. The daily round can be

approached along many interpretive avenues, partly because everyday life is a myopic affair. We wake up, wash, dress and breakfast. To what degree do we know these events, and to what extent do we simply perform them? It is not too much to say that the opacity of *Finnegans Wake* reveals itself precisely in lucid passages like the following: 'business, reading newspaper, smoking cigar, arranging tumblers on table, eating meals, pleasure, etcetera, etcetera, pleasure, eating meals, arranging tumblers on table, smoking cigar, reading newspaper, business; minerals, wash and brush up ... those were the days and he was their hero' (*FW* 127.20–5). In Joyce's fiction, commonplace events provide more than a grounding verisimilitude. The diurnal round comes centre stage, actively composing character and displacing plot, challenging language to capture the near invisibility of fluid routine. The fictions that Joyce produced over his lifetime – from *Dubliners* through *Finnegans Wake* – stand as unusually intense testimony to the power and fascination of everyday life. They bear witness to all that we routinely take for granted and to the challenges of representing that social and philosophical background.

Amidst the many concerns of those investigating the everyday, the study of social practices and transactions is proving to be one of the most fruitful. By using the term 'practice', I mean to designate the more or less regularised ways in which things are done within a given social time and space. Cutting, measuring, seizing and levering things are among the ways in and through which an individual body becomes embedded in an historically specific world and becomes contoured to time-bound cultural apparatuses. Ordinary tasks – riding a bicycle or emptying a chamber pot, digging a garden or brushing one's teeth, rolling a cigarette or lighting a candle – involve a certain know-how that is best communicated by showing rather than telling. A good deal of contextual material is not and perhaps can never be stated. The mechanics of living within the complex machine that was Dublin city at the turn of the last century included much that is unfamiliar to twenty-first-century readers. The commonsense of the era, tacit understandings of behaviour, skilful manipulation of implements and improvisational coping with material possessions: Joyce laboured to bring these background practices into the foreground of his writing. Our present interpretive challenge is this: as our distance in time from Joyce's day lengthens, we can no longer assume that a reader will know with any precision what kind of implement or object is being referred to and how the activity was carried out, what constituted acceptable behaviour and what was simply not done.

Joyce's persistent concern with bringing the body into fiction rather than veiling it in romantic conventions depends on describing things often left

occluded – urinating, defecating, menstruating, farting. At the same time, he pays close attention to the activities that mark space as social: walking in the city, bargaining and purchasing, riding trams and trains, taking part in the mass, eating in company, buying a round of drinks. Both answering the body's needs and moving through social space depend, as often as not, on manual premises. Together, such everyday actions literally constitute the characters in Joyce's fiction and to some extent ground the patterns of interpretation that proliferate from that work.

How does Joyce attend to everyday background practices? Several strategies show up repeatedly in the major fictions: (1) depicting a child observing adult behaviour or engaging in interactions with adults that the child does not fully understand, (2) representing the absence or breakdown of everyday items, (3) providing recurrent attention to a social practice that amounts to a revealing thick description and (4) representing a character's refusal to engage with the material world. An example of each approach follows.

Joyce's portraits of children almost always draw on the child's learning how to do things before the child understands why those things are done. Many critics have commented on this aspect of *A Portrait*, where Stephen's coming to consciousness of his world is a function of others' actions: thus, his father tells him a story, his father observes him through a monocle, his mother puts the oilsheet on his bed, his mother plays the piano. Dante weaves Irish politics into everyday life by way of her emblematic brushes and tells Stephen to honour the priests. One sentence early in the text captures the opacity of Dante's motives in Stephen's eyes: 'Dante gave him a cachou every time he brought her a piece of tissue paper' (*P* 4). What do cachou and tissue signify? The rhyme between the words might explain why Stephen, soon to favour poetry, remembers the incident (or rather is constituted for the reader by way of this and similarly elliptical early childhood events). Putting aside the fact that we cannot know the precise texture, thickness and provenance of the pieces of tissue paper that Stephen delivers to Dante, a contemporary reader might wonder why Dante distributes cachous rather than some other kind of sweet. Although the cachous of the day – pastilles often misidentified in notes to *A Portrait* as being made from cashew nuts – had sugar content, they were not sweets that a child would fully appreciate. They belong to the adult world just as lemon platt belongs to the child's world.

The cachou incident does not repeat itself in *A Portrait*, but in the Sirens chapter of *Ulysses* Bloom thinks, also elliptically, about cachous. Hearing singing in the Ormond, Bloom ponders the belief that women find tenors

especially attractive. By rapid association, then, Boylan appeals to Molly much as Bloom, not a tenor, seems to appeal to Martha Clifford. He recalls Martha's desire to know what kind of perfume Molly wears, and he briefly but vividly imagines Molly answering the door for Boylan: 'Last look at mirror always before she answers the door. The hall. There? How do you? I do well. There? What? Or? Phial of cachous, kissing comfits, in her satchel' (U II.689–91). More perfume than flavour, these tidbits were used not only to freshen breath for kissing but also to cover the smell of alcohol or tobacco. Contextualised speculation about Dante's apparent desire for fresh breath could suggest a number of scenarios for this 'spoiled nun', especially when Molly augments our tiny store of information about Mrs Riordan. It is also tempting to reach outside the fiction and note that a famous brand of comfit at the time, 'Shem-el-Nessim' cachous, advertised its perfume as 'the scent of Araby'. Stephen's simple act of accepting a cachou in return for a piece of tissue paper propels him into Joyce's world and its relentless courting of significance in what we think of as the larger world.

Stephen's action also educates him into the logic of exchange that regulated the lives of Dubliners. In *The Economy of Ulysses*, Mark Osteen examines the logic of interpersonal exchanges under the rubric of Ireland's political and social dispossession. He follows Simmel in understanding exchange as 'the objectification of human interaction' and says unequivocally, 'An enormous system of reciprocal debts underlies the novel like the submerged mass of an iceberg.'¹ Against the controls exercised by British rule and metropolitan mores, Dubliners characteristically spend more than they earn and make up the difference through cadging, pawning and other forms of exchange. Osteen turns to Bataille to explain this rampant expenditure as a form of resistance, an undermining of the logic of commercial transaction, carried forward with brio despite the self-destructive consequences for many of Dublin's underemployed residents. Combing each chapter of *Ulysses* in this light, Osteen explains compellingly why Bloom is abstemiously attentive to getting and spending, why the narrative becomes ever more copious in its spending of linguistic currency and how credit and debit affect Stephen, a disfranchised proto-artist whose work is precisely 'forging'.

If giving and receiving are in some sense the fundamental practices that bind all human societies, Joyce's meticulous attention to everyday activities traces that basic logic into an impressive host of social practices, from being given a cachou to receiving the body of Christ in the form of a wafer. The contextually determined significance of the situation is as important as the fact of face-to-face commerce and custom. Saying that

everything is economic is also finding everything practical, based in social practices that are specific to a community's folk-ways. And this is the bit that may elude the contemporary reader of Joyce's works: the objects being exchanged and the circumstances surrounding them are, like the meaning of the exchange for the participants, often obscured and yet intrinsic to the fabric of Joyce's Dublin.

The misplacing, loss or breakdown of an item or mechanism often becomes Joyce's index for the simultaneous robustness and fragility of social practices. 'Clay' illustrates this function brilliantly. In her trip from the laundry to Joe's house, Maria uses public transport: 'The tram was full and she had to sit on the little stool at the end of the car, facing all the people, with her toes barely touching the floor ... She got out of her tram at the Pillar and ferreted her way quickly among the crowds' (*D* 102). After buying a cake for the family gathering, Maria again catches a tram, this time to Drumcondra, and 'an elderly gentleman made room for her' (*D* 98). Although a reader might not be able to place the Pillar or Drumcondra – indeed, might not even be entirely sure what a tram looked like in those days or where the tracks were laid – anyone can appreciate the encounter between tiny Maria and the packed vehicle.

Riding the tram in Dublin then was like riding the Underground in London today: a person might make several short hops on a journey. Joyce does not provide a tram time-table, but it is reasonably clear that Maria knows how frequently they pass her points of origin and destination. In a 1905 letter to Stanislaus, Joyce denounced 'contemporary Irish writing' as 'ill-written, morally obtuse formless caricature' (*L* 11 98). By way of example, he says,

I have read Moore's "Untilled Field" ... A lady who has been living for three years on the line between Bray and Dublin is told by her husband that there is a meeting in Dublin at which he must be present. She looks up the table to see the hours of the trains. This on DW and WR [the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway] where the trains go regularly: this after three years. Isn't it rather stupid of Moore. (*L* 11 71)

The point is not that Moore disregards the everyday but that he does not exercise the finesse required to bring the reader into the taken-for-granted context of social experience in the Dublin that Joyce knew. Maria is hopelessly obtuse and sadly self-deceived in many ways, but she does have transportation know-how. Riding the tram, then, is part of a sequence of engagements with the social life of objects in turn-of-the-century Dublin, where trams are as challenging to negotiate as walking through the rainy, crowded streets and figuring out which cake to purchase.

That is, Maria has know-how to a point. Having caught the tram and been provided a space, Maria is duped by the courteous gentleman with whom she has been flirting; he steals her plumcake. At Joe's house, the loss is both acknowledged and buried. Mrs Donnelly plays the piano; then Joe expresses irritation at the absence of a nutcracker; at the story's end, Joe is still looking for a corkscrew. Meanwhile, Maria has difficulty playing the Hallow Eve game of divining the future. The image of Maria blindly reaching into a saucer of water for a mystery object reinforces the reader's recognition of the perils that the sheltered Maria faces when engaging with the environment even in the safest of conditions. From the perspective of social practices, the game is an image of life, and 'Clay' is about the difficulties of both grasping and holding on to things. Among the things that Joyce asked his Aunt Josephine to send him are 'tram-tickets, advts, handbills, posters, papers, programmes &c.'. He adds: 'I suppose I am becoming something of a maniac' (L II 186). Although Maria is not shown purchasing her ticket, is it not likely that Joyce wanted to possess a proper ticket as a way to get in touch with the embodied and embedded experience of riding a tram in Dublin?

In his classic essay, 'Dynamics of Corrective Unrest', Fritz Senn focuses on the 'representational' side of Joyce's writing, by which he means the success with which the text brings to our attention the glitches and successes of everyday manipulation of objects. Senn turns to the beginning of the Hades episode where Bloom enters the funeral carriage: 'With perceptible nervousness he fiddles with the door of a less than perfect vehicle.' Unerringly honing in on a textual crux that the Gabler edition of *Ulysses* would render undecidable, Senn quotes: 'He pulled the door to after him and slammed it tight till it shut tight'.² A reader today will want to know what a funeral carriage looked like in those days and will likely find an array of images on the internet if not in one of the many picture books that display Joyce's world. But as Heidegger insisted, knowing what something looks like is not the same as knowing how it works, something that may only come into focus when it does not work as it should.

A third strategy that Joyce uses to foreground everyday practices involves returning to an activity several times to build significance and to defamiliarise the task. In the Ithaca episode, Bloom makes Stephen welcome by drawing chairs to the hearthstone, where the older man kneels and

composed in the grate a pyre of crosslaid resintipped sticks and various coloured papers and irregular polygons of best Abram coal at twentyone shillings a ton from the yard of Messrs Flower and M'Donald of 14 D'Olier street, kindled at three projecting points of paper with one ignited lucifer match, thereby releasing the

potential energy contained in the fuel by allowing its carbon and hydrogen elements to enter into free union with the oxygen of the air. (*U* 15.127–33)

A reader with a sentimental turn might imagine Dubliners burning turf, but this textual moment and several others specify the use of coal on top of paper or wood kindling. In country areas, tradition might still have dictated that the woman of the house tend the hearth all day. In fact, as late as the 1970s, ethnographer Henry Glassie found that in rural Fermanagh, 'The hearth is the crucible of continuity; here, at the center of space, people work to unify time, keeping a fire alight that consumes the intervals between the generations, between the Great Days and every day and night, fill all gaps with man-made heat, melting moments into the endless whole of time.'³ Modern Bloom uses matches to light the kindling that will ignite the purchased coal.

Joyce had already lavished detail on fire-building in 'Ivy Day in the Committee Room'. In that story, municipal elections take a back seat to everyday activities, the tiny gestures and customs that make up the actual life-ways of politicians still in mourning for Parnell's glory days. The story begins with a caretaker fanning coals in a fireplace: 'Old Jack raked the cinders together with a piece of cardboard and spread them judiciously over the whitening dome of coals' (*D* 115). As is often the case in *Dubliners*, envy, begrudgery, resentment and delusions of grandeur fuel idle conversation, while Old Jack brings coal into the room and places it on the rekindled fire. A basketful of stout bottles is delivered, but very soon the men realise that they have been left without a corkscrew. Henchy improvises with a 'little trick', putting the bottles on the hob until the corks fly off. Fireside behaviour ties this incident to the scene in *Portrait* in which Stephen discovers the dean of studies lighting a fire in the physics theatre.

- One moment now, Mr Dedalus, and you will see. There is an art in lighting a fire. We have the liberal arts and we have the useful arts. This is one of the useful arts.
- I will try to learn it, said Stephen.
- Not too much coal, said the dean, working briskly at his task, that is one of the secrets. He produced four candlebutts from the sidepockets of his soutane and placed them deftly among the coals and twisted papers. (*P* 200)

This moment is one of a cluster that Stephen recalls as Bloom makes him welcome in the Ithaca chapter. He thinks:

Of others elsewhere in other times who, kneeling on one knee or on two, had kindled fires for him, of Brother Michael in the infirmary of the college of the Society of Jesus at Clongowes Wood, Sallins, in the country of Kildare: of his father, Simon Dedalus, in an unfurnished room of his first residence in Dublin,

number thirteen Fitzgibbon street: of his godmother Miss Kate Morkan in the house of her dying sister Miss Julia Morkan at 15 Usher's Island: of his aunt Sara, wife of Richie (Richard) Goulding, in the kitchen of their lodgings at 62 Clanbrassil street: of his mother Mary, wife of Simon Dedalus, in the kitchen of number twelve North Richmond street on the morning of the feast of Saint Francis Xavier 1898; of the dean of studies, Father Butt, in the physics' theatre of university College, 16 Stephen's Green, north: of his sister Dilly (Delia) in his father's house in Cabra. (*U* 17.135–47)

Like so much in *Ithaca*, this list is deeply poignant. Although he has given little to those around him, many people have made Stephen as comfortable as possible during his brief lifetime. Stephen has issues with the priests who wanted to confine him to church duties, with his feckless father, with his pious mother and with overly solicitous Bloom himself. But these recollections of fires being lighted present Joyce's world in terms of what Heidegger would call 'care'. Being warm must be actively strategised by those showing concern for their fellow Dubliners. The materiality of fenders, hobs, grates, irons and mantelpieces – although increasingly distant from today's reader as everyday tools or even as ready images – appear constantly in Joyce's fiction.

Throughout the *Dublin Diary*, Stanislaus bitterly notes the extreme cold that resulted from the Joyces' deepening poverty and in particular from his father's alcoholism. On 20 April 1904 he writes: 'When there is money in this house it is impossible to do anything because of Pappie's drunkenness and quarrelling. When there is no money it is impossible to do anything because of the hunger and cold and want of light' (*DD* 27–8). Even on 31 August of that year, he ponders:

Food is good and warmth is good. This is a good house to learn to appreciate both in. We do weeks on one chance insufficient meal, and a collation in the days I have been stripped of my garments, even of my heavy boots, willingly stripped, to pawn them and feed on them. What kind of adults will we be? I am becoming quite morbid on the point and regard food as energy-stuff. (*DD* 77)

His December 1904 entry claims that 'for this year we have lived in this house on practically starvation rations' (*DD* 138), wandering the streets of Dublin rather than stay in the cold, empty dwelling or risk too many encounters with his father, who was quite capable of hitting out in his frustration with a fireplace poker too long rendered useless by lack of fuel. For his part, Joyce wrote to Stanislaus on 28 December 1904 to say, 'The weather is bitterly cold and we have no stove' (*DD* 47). Such moments remind us that the difference between a warm fireside and a cold hearth was a crucial element of being in Joyce's Dublin.

Not every character plunges into the world with Bloom's persistence and highly motivated interest in figuring out the why and the how of things. What Maurice Merleau-Ponty would later frame as the indeterminacy of the-hand-touching-the-hand-touching became in Joyce's own hands a concern with degrees of engagement and disengagement between his characters and the quite specific material worlds that they inhabited. In particular, Stephen Dedalus is often a man apart, an aloof observer of others eating, swimming or making their Easter duty. So it is that 16 June 1904 begins with a precise description of Buck Mulligan's shaving with a straight razor. The kind of razor is important because the early twentieth century saw the invention and enormous worldwide success of the Gillette razor with its disposable blades.⁴ In that moment, then, of profound change in the everyday lives of men worldwide, vast hordes of them conscientiously trimming their faces every twenty-four hours into the approved masculine styling of the day, Stephen is depicted as having no part in this ritual: in relation to a diurnal toilet, he is practically disembodied by this absence of attention to time and custom. He has no problem turning the scene into a version of the Catholic mass, but entering into the side of life requiring persistent righting of one's relation to inanimate objects is often quite beyond him. Remember that in the physics theatre, after working at the hearth, 'The dean rested back on his hunkers and watched the sticks catch. Stephen, to fill the silence, said, "I am sure I could not light a fire"' (*P* 200).

Whether covering up an awkward patch in the encounter or not, Stephen seems to eschew manual activity. The dean, entirely aware of this student's predilections, deftly turns the conversation to aesthetic theory. Is the fire beautiful? Stephen agrees that it might be, adding 'In so far as it satisfies the animal craving for warmth fire is a good. In hell however it is an evil', to which the dean responds with a tellingly practical cliché, 'you have certainly hit the nail on the head'. Stephen broods over having been thrown into a world where the English language has displaced the Irish language and presumably robbed poets like Stephen of his heritage. He fears the many nets of conventional behaviour that would tie him to his culture's primary sources of meaning, the Church and the State. His way of dealing with this problem of being a Dubliner is to withdraw – not once but on a daily basis.

Many years ago, I had the pleasure to talk with Phyllis Moss Stein, a woman who had grown up in Ireland, lived with the artist Patrick Tuohy and befriended Nora in Paris. Stein confirmed the impression – often noted by observers of the Joyce family – that the writer himself was inclined to be standoffish, particularly in relation to women whom he thought to be insufficiently intellectual. An anecdote illustrated her view. One day she

was waiting for Nora in the Joyces' flat, and it was time for Joyce to eat his lunch. He sat down at a table and silently consumed the food before him. At the end, he put down his utensil and said to Stein, 'Now you've seen me eat soup.' Stein was inclined to view Joyce's comment as dismissive, and certainly he was not behaving affably. But he must have known that one day she would tell this story to people who wanted to know not as much about her own life as about the Joyces' world. In my view, the incident captures far more than Joyce's condescension towards Stein. On this occasion, Joyce immersed himself in consuming soup, using spoon and bowl, table and chair. For Joyce, the content of the encounter was his situated use of implements, his involvement with the everyday things on which, as a writer, as a 'conscious rational animal' (*U* 15.1012), and even as a 'competent keyless citizen' (*U* 15.1019) in a puzzling world, he took his stand.

NOTES

1. Mark Osteen, *The Economy of Ulysses: Making Both Ends Meet* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995), p. 157.
2. Fritz Senn, *Joyce's Dislocations: Essays on Reading as Translation*, ed. J. P. Riquelme (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984, p. 60).
3. Henry Glassie, *Passing the Time in Ballymenone* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), p. 354.
4. Cheryl Temple Herr, *Joyce and the Art of Shaving* (Dublin: National Library of Ireland, 2004), pp. 17–18.

CHAPTER 15

Dublin

L. M. Cullen

Dublin, as seen in Joyce's writing, affords not only an insight into his personal experiences, but a picture of aspects of the social life of the city. *Dubliners* is primarily an account of life on the north side, or in the case of the most famous of the stories, 'The Dead', of a Christmas party held in a house on Usher's Island, immediately across the Liffey. *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* is, in its central section, an account of an adolescent attending the Jesuit College at Belvedere and of his frequenting the district around the College in the north inner city. Moreover, it is less an account of his schooldays there than a version of certain key experiences which began to take place in 1898, when he was around sixteen. His earlier life, some important episodes apart, is glossed over quickly, as is the account of later life in the north city which jumps forward quickly from first impressions to his exploration of sex, both actual and imagined, and of the brothel district that had developed quite recently off Gardiner Street.

The extraordinary account of a Catholic adolescence in Joyce's pages, while an artistic creation and a psychological study, is also saturated in the geography of a distinct district. In a geographical sense Joyce's Dublin was simply the Mountjoy Ward or more precisely that part of the Gardiner estate, laid out in the eighteenth century by the rich political landlord family of Gardiner, which lay to the east of the line of O'Connell Street and North Frederick Street. Other parts of Dublin feature little, or do so, as in the case of the Martello Tower at Sandycove, only because of Joyce's friendship with the medical student Oliver Gogarty. His descriptions of many parts of Dublin often function as mere scene-setting for the events of the novel and lack the intimacy of his accounts of life in the limited stretch of streets around Belvedere College and out to the North Wall.

These locations, recurring through all his writings, provide vignettes of remarkable intimacy. Significantly, the home of Leopold Bloom at 7 Eccles Street is also placed within this limited area of the city which is repeatedly captured as a somewhat static and timeless environment. The family's early

days in Blackrock, the last residence of the years of good fortune, were less important for their own sake than as a location for his record of a moment in boyhood when he was becoming alive to the conversations of adults, remembered from trudging along the road or standing in some grimy wayside public house where his elders spoke constantly of the subjects nearer their hearts: Irish politics, Munster and the legends of their own family, to all of which Stephen lent an avid ear.

The population of Dublin in 1904 was 400,000 in the built-up areas, and not the figure of 280,000 which is usually quoted but which omits the comfortable and new or relatively new-built districts outside the municipal boundaries. The municipal city was ringed with comfortable districts, especially on the south side. It had acquired an unusual pattern in that while many (as in other cities) travelled in and out on a daily basis to work, more uniquely some of the poor commuted daily from cheap central lodgings to the industrial districts to the west or to the miscellaneous commercial and service activities of the rich southern suburbs. To understand Dublin in Joyce's time, it is necessary to see the city in terms of connections between three districts. The first was the old district of the Liberties, the second was the Mountjoy Ward, itself the eastern section of the Gardiner estate. The third was Fitzwilliam Square and Stephens' Green with, beyond the Grand Canal, a district which burgeoned from the 1830s on and continued over the century to spread south. A salient point in the circumstance of Gabriel Conroy in 'The Dead' is that he resides in Monkstown as it was one of the two most prestigious sections of the sustained southern sprawl of the city (being served by the Westland Row railway line) along with Carrickmines and Foxford (inland suburbs opened up by the Harcourt Street line).

Joyce lived in many houses inside and outside the city: in the prosperous early days, the family lived as far afield as Bray, location of the famous Christmas dinner in *A Portrait*, and their time in Blackrock marked the final stage of this relatively comfortable period of his life. From there the family moved at the end of 1892 or early 1893 successively to Hardwicke Street and Fitzgibbon Street, both within yards of Mountjoy Square. Immediately on his arrival on the north side, Joyce depicts Stephen Dedalus as he wanders tentatively in his new environs:

In the beginning he contented himself with circling timidly round the neighbouring square or, at most, going half way down one of the side streets: but when he had made a skeleton map of the city in his mind he followed boldly one of its central lines until he reached the Custom House ... A vague dissatisfaction grew up within him as he looked on the quays and on the river and on the lowering sky and yet he

continued to wander up and down day after day as if he really sought someone that eluded him. (*P* 69)

Walking is a key activity in Joyce's fiction. Thus we discover the city by following Stephen not only in *A Portrait* but later in *Ulysses* where his peregrinations are paralleled by those of Bloom. Joyce himself, even as a schoolboy, was also an avid wanderer of Dublin streets; it was on one of these walks that his first sexual adventure seems to have occurred, not on the north side but off the South Circular Road.

The move of the family to the north side is also described in *A Portrait* where Stephen's father's declining circumstances are charted as part of the account of the varied and progressive downward spiral in their middle-class fortunes: '— A medical student, an oarsman, a tenor, an amateur actor, a shouting politician, a small landlord, a small investor, a drinker, a good fellow, a storyteller, somebody's secretary, something in a distillery, a tax-gatherer, a bankrupt and at present a praiser of his own past' (*P* 262). The decision of the Joyces to locate in the north city seems to have been made not only on economic grounds but also because his mother had relatives there. Between 1894 and 1903, the family lived at a further nine addresses, some in proximity to Mountjoy Square, others in Drumcondra (references to the river Tolka recur casually in his works), Fairview and as far afield as Phibsborough (Cabra). During his adolescent years at Belvedere College (1893–8), the streets around the college and the spire of St George's Church, seen from many angles and frequently referred to, are the central geographical focus of his writing. The Mountjoy Square, Gardiner Street, Rutland Square, Buckingham Street, Hardwicke Street and Place locations, recur throughout his writing. It is the life of that district and of its lesser business people that features in *Dubliners* together with the temptations in *A Portrait* in the brothel district on the east side of Gardiner Street:

It would be a gloomy secret night. After early nightfall the yellow lamps would light up, here and there, the squalid quarter of the brothels. He would follow a devious course up and down the streets, circling always nearer and nearer in a tremor of fear and joy, until his feet led him suddenly round a dark corner. The whores would be just coming out of their houses making ready for the night. (*P* 109)

In Joyce's time, locations, like Mountjoy Square, and on the far side of Dorset Street, Eccles Street, remained, in the main, residential, as did, more confidently, the newly built terraces of modest houses (more suitable for a single family) reaching down to and beyond the North Circular Road and further afield to Drumcondra and Cabra. Upper Gardiner Street itself (with its Jesuit church of Saint Francis Xavier which so often recurs in Joyce's

fiction), Mountjoy Square and North Great Georges Street on the higher ground, all retained some distinguished residents into the twentieth century and held out better than other streets containing large-scale housing. They were a frontier separating streets of modest – and new – housing from streets to the south of the Square, engulfed by the conversion of large mansions into tenements. The frontier was well-flagged by the Jesuit Church, which drew to its benches both a tenement population from the large houses tumbling into tenements and a middle class from the streets of smaller houses to the north of the line of Upper Gardiner Street: the congregation in ‘Grace’ touches on their presence in the church. In the large and originally very grand houses to the south of Mountjoy Square, conversion into tenements had already overwhelmed the line of Great Britain Street (present Parnell Street) and Gloucester Street (present Sean Mac Dermott Street) and Tyrone Street (later named Railway Street, heart of the brothel district), and was beginning to eat into other streets. In the 1901 *Thom’s Directory* Great Denmark Street was in an ominous state: eleven of its forty-eight properties were vacant, the invariable prelude to a downward turn in the social use of individual buildings. Of forty-nine street numbers in Hardwicke Street (where Joyce lived briefly in 1892–3 and which is the location of one of his short stories), seven tenements in 1893 had become ten in 1898, and eighteen in 1910 and at all three dates vacant dwellings heralded a similar fate for other houses.

Among the best of Joyce’s evocations of Dublin life is the short story ‘Grace’ with its coterie of modest employees, Mr Kernan, Mr Power, Mr M’Coy, who with Mr Cunningham (the latter sometimes accompanied by Mr Harford, a partner in a pawnbroker’s) make up a little group ‘which left the city shortly after noon on Sunday with the purpose of arriving as soon as possible at some public house on the outskirts of the city where its members duly qualified themselves as bona-fide travellers’ (*D* 158) and through whose eyes others of comparable social status are identified in a religious service at what may be described as the frontier church of Gardiner Street. This milieu can be summarised in the career progression of Mr M’Coy himself:

His line of life had not been the shortest distance between two points and for short periods he had been driven to live by his wits. He had been a clerk in the Midland Railway, a canvasser for advertisements for *The Irish Times* and for the *Freeman’s Journal*, a town traveller for a coal firm on commission, a private inquiry agent, a clerk in the office of the Sub-Sheriff, and he had recently become secretary to the City Coroner. (*D* 157)

It is hardly surprising that as a result of Mr M’Coy’s precarious and changing livelihoods ‘his wife ... still taught young children to play the piano at low

terms' (*D* 157). The need of supplementary income, especially through music teaching, crops up frequently in Joyce. 'Grace' was probably a close observation of people in the circle of his own family: several of those mentioned in the story would later feature in *Ulysses*. Another short story, 'The Boarding House', a vignette of life in Mrs Mooney's in Hardwicke Street with 'its resident population ... made up of clerks from the city' (*D* 56), is an equally close observation of city life and social relationships. Many of the clerical employees of Eason's, the great news distributors on Middle Abbey Street, one of the few big Dublin firms not to favour positively Protestant recruitment, lived in these streets (and had often been educated by or recommended by the Christian Brothers).

Mrs Mooney's boarding house is a rather typical establishment; its presence on Hardwicke Street represents a typical stage in the decline of a street of family residences through boarding houses and 'private hotels' into the twilight world of tenement living. In all parts of Dublin, rich and modest alike, quite a high proportion of houses were occupied by women: in areas of lower incomes, this often led to the occupiers taking in lodgers to make or supplement their income. Joyce's world is one of families striving to keep up modest middle-class appearances: clerks and small business people, the boarding house keeper, the ladies who give music lessons in their own rooms, all occupations which provide a modest and sometimes struggling respectability, and all on a social and geographical frontier uncomfortably close to a district suffering widespread if very recent social decay.

Beyond this geographical fringe or frontier, there is no real intimacy in Joyce's accounts of other parts of Dublin: they lack focused observations of the inhabitants or the lives of the locations in which the narrations unfold. The only exception is 'The Dead'. Miss Kate and Miss Julia Morkan rent only the upper half of a house (and hence already reside in a building with a commercial function), moreover in a location in which in 1901 there were several tenements and in which most of the premises were commercial. Miss Kate teaches music lessons while the main prop of the household is their niece, Mary Jane, who is the organist in Haddington Road Church. This story revealingly juxtaposes the respectability that is painfully maintained by the family on Usher's Island with the upward social mobility of Gabriel Conroy, nephew of the two old ladies, who enjoys an assured position as a college teacher and lives comfortably in Monkstown. His mother had married an employee of the Ports and Docks Board (a very solid employment, this, hitherto largely restricted to Protestants), and had strongly disapproved of his marriage to a Galway country girl. The many social resonances in this story are repeated in Gabriel's light-hearted

reference to the occupation of his grandfather, 'commonly known in his latter years as the old gentleman', as 'a glue-boiler', and his Aunt Kate's laughing correction that 'he had a starch mill' (*D* 208). The theme continues, however, with Kate further correcting Gabriel's assertion: 'O, now, Gabriel, he didn't live in Back Lane, really. Only the mill was there' (*D* 209). The subjects of conversation are closely observed fragments from the social life of the period, and recur at times later in *Ulysses* and are probably all the more realistic for their painful closeness to similar scenes and dynamics to be found in Joyce's own family and neighbourhood circle. A connection to this effect is made in *Ulysses*, where Kate Morkan of 15 Usher's Island is identified as Stephen's godmother.

Beyond the bounds of the north inner city, for all practical purposes the vast comfortable district spreading from Fitzwilliam Square southwards to Blackrock and Monkstown or south-westwards, served variously by railway and tram, to Terenure, is largely absent from Joyce's writing. Blackrock alone from the pages of *A Portrait*, with its fleeting but positive recollection of his sojourn there, has a real existence along with Sandycove in the opening of *Ulysses*. He was either cut off from this world or cut himself off from it. No doubt he was separated from it by religion, but more fundamentally by his father's newly modest circumstances.

In a very real sense, Joyce's writing reflects both the cultural and class divides in a politically divided Dublin. The new districts were in the main Protestant and Unionist, or more accurately (because people like Gabriel Conroy were becoming numerous in them), Protestants and Unionists in those districts avoided contact with Catholics. The atmosphere is well portrayed in Elizabeth Bowen's *Seven Winters: Memories of a Dublin Childhood* which describes life in the first decade of the new century on the Pembroke estate (the new district encompassed between Norhumberland Road and Morehampton Road, beyond the Grand Canal). The values were Protestant and English, and all contact with Catholics was resolutely avoided.

Joyce's writings are saturated with references to the religion and politics of his milieu. A Dublin very different from Elizabeth Bowen's is reflected in 'The Dead', one of people variously struggling with economic circumstances, rising in the world like Gabriel Conroy, or debating somewhat aggressively the question of the revival of the Irish language. Miss Ivors is, in the manner of the language revivalists, a keen supporter of the visits, now fashionable among ardent Gaelic Leaguers, to the Irish-speaking districts, and Gabriel's writing of articles for the Unionist *Dublin Telegraph*, though seen by him as an inoffensive activity because they are purely literary, was to her a suspect one.

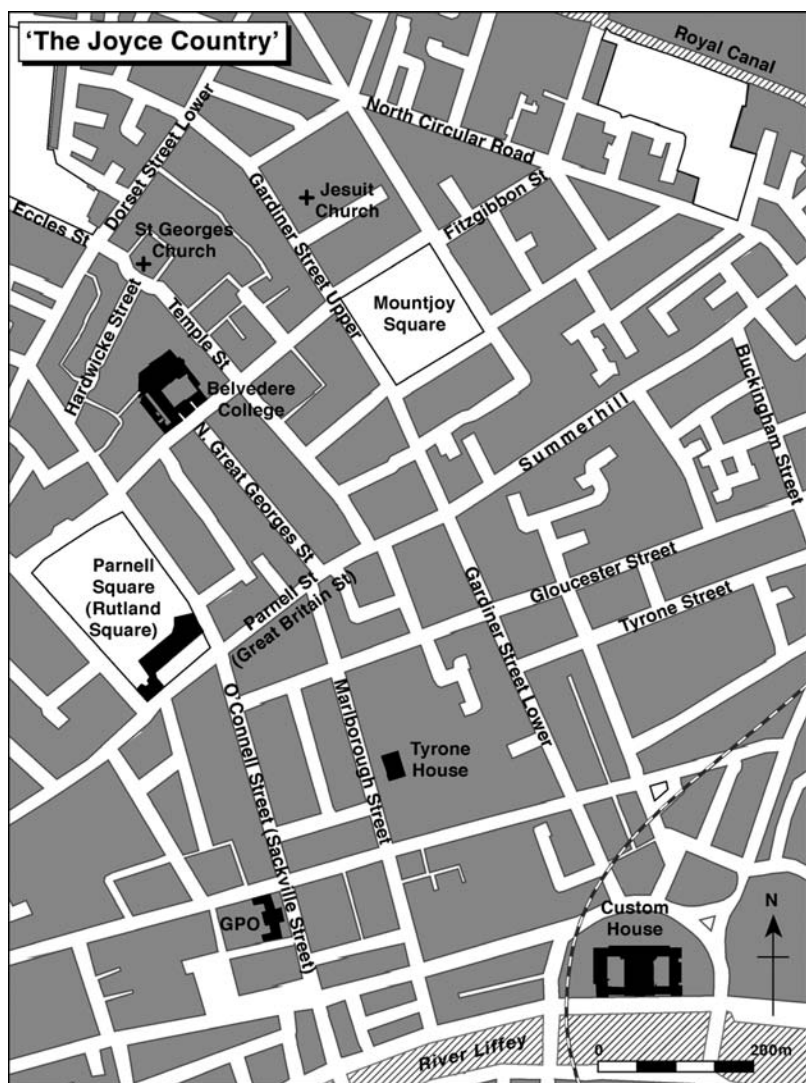
These two separate worlds were supported by separate networks of schools, Protestant and Catholic respectively, congregated in the central districts, to cater for both boys and girls: they were backed up by further schools to cater for students living further afield. Confining oneself to boys' schools, for Catholics there were (apart from the Christian Brothers) Belvedere, the Marist Catholic University School in Leeson Street and St Mary's Rathmines; for Protestants, Wesley and High School (both conveniently close to the Harcourt Street Railway line), and the Blue Coat School. Further afield there were other schools for Catholics and Protestants, reaching out finally to the sylvan locations of St Columba's for Protestants, and Castlenock and Clongowes for Catholics. Joyce's own progression from Clongowes to Belvedere was a consequence of the decay of the family fortunes, and a period of two or three months with the Christian Brothers in Richmond Street was ended by a combination of a free place in Belvedere and some degree of family resoluteness in the effort to halt the downward social slide. The absolute paucity of reference to the Brothers, the great educators of central Dublin, in Joyce's works, is a striking reflection of the divide and perhaps a studied avoidance of it.

Younger people mingled more easily than their parents, in the way that Joyce, from his University days onwards, came into contact with Yeats and Synge, both of whom were part of the new and wider cultural interest around 1900. If Yeats misunderstood Catholic Ireland (and indeed perversely urban and middle-class values at large), Joyce in turn had mixed feelings about Yeats and his world. In one sense, this reflects Joyce's background, Catholic and nationalist, which was dismissive of cultural interests that singled out the primitive or the mythological rather than the modern and political. Even Synge, a realistic observer in many ways, was influenced by the frankly unstable and temperamental worlds of Pierre Loti and Lafcadio Hearn. Joyce, by contrast, was interested in urban man, and in issues which were those of urban life and of the modern world, its drab reality rather than a more poetic essence. In yet another sense, Joyce represented a rejection, and from an early stage, of the identity problems that, though different in emphasis, obsessed Yeats and the Catholic nationalists in the Gaelic League alike.

In a fundamentally divided city, where everything was duplicated in a Catholic/Protestant, Nationalist/Unionist dichotomy, Joyce's writing is ultimately ambivalent in its political thrust. It parodied nationalist thought and language (with which he was familiar) and only allowed marginal space to its Unionist and Protestant counterparts, every bit as much deserving of parody. The account of the debate in the hall attached to Barney Kiernan's

public house in Sraid na Breataine Bheag (Little Britain Street) under the auspices of Sluagh na h-Eireann 'on the revival of ancient Gaelic sports' introduced by a 'well known and highly respected worker in the cause of our old tongue' is telling in its sardonic tone, as is the fact that twenty-four clergymen are identified by name while the laity present are simply described as 'The laity included P. Fay, T. Quirke, etc., etc.' (*U* 12.938). Both the bombast and the flooding of Catholic clergy into the language movement are alluded to by Joyce in a manner that betrays his clear lack of sympathy with its aims. He was of his time in identifying the weight of clerical backing and what its consequences would be. In a sense, both sides seemed parochial, and his rejection of their cultural interests and his opting for Europe was a self-conscious decision. It also reflected the influence of Ibsen. In a very real sense, Joyce's writing or the personal reaction that preceded it is a rejection of the obsession with the simple life of the countryman, of the influence of Loti and Hearn and of the mythological themes in Irish writing at the time. Yeats' writing at large and Synge's plays were a peculiar conceit, part of the eccentricities of European high culture at the end of the century, saved from the mass of mediocre or banal writing of the period, at home or abroad, only by the genius of both men.

If Joyce chose to be European and international he did so by also being true to his local origins, to the area in which he lived throughout his Belvedere years from 1893 to 1898, mostly, though not exclusively, at the heart of the Gardiner estate in the vicinity of Mountjoy Square. This is the 'Joyce Country', a district that was undergoing commercial and social change at an accelerating rate which continued into the 1920s and even beyond. The erection of the General Post Office in Sackville Street in 1816 and the out-and-out commercialisation of Sackville Street in the 1850s in the wake of the recent opening of the railway termini at Amiens Street and the Broadstone had ushered in this prolonged period of development. The opening of Butt Bridge further downstream on the Liffey in 1878, relieving growing congestion in Sackville Street, converted Gardiner Street itself into a main artery. In 1850 tenements were still few on the Gardiner estate. The fall in valuations in Henrietta Street was slight in 1850 but by the end of the 1870s it was effectively a slum street. Close at hand Upper Dominick Street (a conduit from the Broadstone railway station) likewise lost its high status. Further east in the Mountjoy Ward segment of the estate, once Gardiner Street became a main artery, blight quickened, though intense commercialisation at its southern end halted the tenement status which overwhelmed its northern and middle sections.



The mechanisms of change are also very evident in the history of Mountjoy Square. Its prestige had already collapsed in the first decade of the new century, and the high social status of a few of the occupiers recorded in the 1901 and 1911 censuses mirror its illustrious past rather than its uncertain present and its imminent decline in the first decades of the

twentieth century into an area dominated by poor, overpopulated tenements. The rapid turnover of occupiers is a clue to social change, and the number of vacancies at any point in time was rising. The peak year for vacancies was 1909, when almost 20 per cent of the house numbers were vacant according to *Thom's Directory*. Significantly the first tenements appeared the following year. Far from tenement districts being created by ruthless property speculators, they arose out of a crisis in the letting market, and the new occupiers were not only the sole individuals willing to rent the properties from the immediate lessors, but were frequently married women, hence in all probability hoping to eke out a modest living from lodgers and from renting out rooms.

The most instructive example of what was afoot on the square is provided by a Mrs Gregg. She had become the occupier of an already vacant house on the south side (no. 34) in 1902. In 1908, taking over adjoining no. 35 which had previously served as a home for destitute boys, she advertised 'select furnished lodgings' in both houses. This enterprise, somewhat above the bottom of the letting market, must have proved unsuccessful because a year later no. 34 was vacant, and she had transferred her business into the presumably better maintained no. 35. The enterprise was no happier. No. 34 itself was a tenement in 1910, and no. 35, vacant in 1911, had become one in 1912. Thus the whole story of these two houses is built both on the failure of the owner or leaseholder to get a good occupying tenant of secure business or social status, and of the occupier to make a success of letting out furnished accommodation. One's suspicion is that the desperate Mrs Gregg herself had declined in the course of business failure to the role of renting out tenements successively in no. 34 and no. 35. Mrs Mooney, protagonist of 'The Boarding House' in *Dubliners*, separated from her husband, maintaining herself from the income of her boarders in her house in Hardwicke Street, and entrapping one of them into marriage to her daughter, fits rather aptly into this framework. Hardwicke Street had held out with some success against the flooding tenement population of Mountjoy Ward, but before the great square itself, was already beginning to lose the battle against tenement invasion by 1901.

Dublin itself, even central Dublin, did not become poorer in the second half of the nineteenth century. The number of families living in one-room accommodation within the city fell from 1880 to 1914. The pool of tenement houses in the city fell even more sharply – was almost halved – as the poor migrated from the tall but narrow houses of the Liberties to the more spacious houses in the newer districts. What was shocking about Dublin poverty was less that it existed than that by its migration it made itself so much more visible and in a short period of time. As a result, in contrast to the generally

static or even falling population of the administrative area of the city, the population of Mountjoy Ward rose by an astonishing 82 per cent between 1851 and 1911. Houses in the Liberties on the far side of the city, and especially those in the teeming alleys and courts behind its commercial streets, were quite literally falling down by the 1860s. With the rapid growth in demand for sites for distilleries, breweries and other new commercial premises, entire alleys and courts with their numerous and crowded tenements were over time swept away. The building of the first comfortable artisan houses in the 1880s as part of a policy of slum clearance (but without a concern for rehousing of the actual occupiers) sped up the process of change even further.

The 1860s are the key years: the early stages in the redevelopment of the Liberties and the first widespread tenement blight on the Gardiner estate roughly coincided. Gloucester Street, just off Sackville Street, did not have a single tenement house in 1870 but had become a solidly tenement street by 1900. On the south side, apart from slums creeping into York Street, and commercialisation of the west side of St Stephen's Green and of Harcourt Street induced by the new Harcourt Street railway station, the classic squares of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and their immediate environs remained well-preserved and smart even if the outer reaches of the Pembroke estate beyond the canal increasingly beckoned to the fashionable. All this story is missing from Joyce, whose Dublin is in essence that of the streets of his adolescence, at a time when the combined outflow of their old residents and inflow of inhabitants from the decaying Liberties was rapidly altering their character.

*Nineteenth-century lyric nationalism**Matthew Campbell*

James Joyce spent his formative years in the second city of Victoria's British Empire. For all that his schooldays were imprinted with the Jesuit experiment with the English public school that was Clongowes Wood College, his childhood and youth were dominated by a Catholic nationalism seeking the self-determination denied by a British policy which thought it had solved its Irish problem by welcoming Ireland fully into the United Kingdom in 1801. After the defeat of the United Irishmen in 1798, the Union made Ireland English in language and law and thus supposedly a full partner in the project of Empire. However, the successful campaign for Catholic Emancipation in 1829, and the catastrophe of the Famine of the 1840s, led a majority of Irish politicians to campaign against this assimilation. The popular nationalism of the tradition of Daniel O'Connell initially pursued separatism on the grounds of sectarian difference – Ireland's Catholicism had survived the Reformation and subsequent attempts to impose it by a British Protestant state and landowning class. But the nationalist claim was also founded on a new conception of the Irish past, in which a persisting ancient Gaelic culture and language would act as the basis for the formation of one of the non-imperial and culturally distinct states that the modern European ideology of nationalism sought to promote. In these circumstances, the sense of an Irish past shared by Joyce, his family and their Catholic peers was strongly derived from its vigorous re-presentation in the translations, histories, antiquarian researches and above all songs and lyrics of nineteenth-century literary and musical culture.

Joyce's elders or contemporaries, W. B. Yeats, George Russell, Lady Gregory and John Millington Synge, sought subject matter in the longer past of Celtic myth and a bardic feudal order or in the imagined pre-Union golden age of the eighteenth century. Above all, they sought it in the authenticity that direct contact with the Irish language and Irish peasant culture might bring. When Joyce referred to such matters, it was usually with scepticism, and he pictured his Irish characters in the specific circumstances of a popular urban culture in

which lower-middle-class Catholics found their voice: the music-hall and the popular ballads and translations of the nationalist movements of Young Ireland and the Fenians. His strongest Irish literary influences came from the persistent popularity of the great Dublin lyricist of defeat and passing love, Thomas Moore, and the example of the wrecked career of another fellow Dubliner, James Clarence Mangan. Joyce's work is saturated with the sounds of a Romantic and Victorian culture which carried with it all the ambivalences of his view of 'Ireland'.¹ Writing for the Dublin *Daily Express* from his first period of exile in Paris in 1902, he scathingly reviewed the late Fenian poetry of William Rooney, co-founder with Arthur Griffith of the *United Irishman* newspaper. He especially criticised Rooney's writing about 'Religion': 'one of those big words which make us all unhappy' (*OCPW* 62).² 'Ireland' may be another of those big words, and Joyce continuously describes how the forms of Irish nationalist culture which were inherited from the nineteenth century dragged the Irish back into the display of their own unhappiness. One form above all served this function for Joyce, a form which commemorated past defeats and uncertain revivals in unequal measures.

This form is sometimes erroneously referred to as folk song,³ but to distinguish it from the Irish-language-based songs of the Irish countryside or the English-language songs inherited and adapted from the English and Scottish ballad tradition,⁴ it might be better described as Irish popular lyric. That is a synthetic form in which songs and lyrics were composed from pre-existing materials – melodic, narrative or translated from Irish – for a variety of purposes: for stage or drawing room performance, as street ballad broadsides, as political propaganda or simply to serve a popular taste for Irish caricature.⁵ Taking one strain of these compositions, those which relate Irish national defeat and degradation, we can see the complex uses to which Joyce puts such material, and how he explores the aesthetic history of the popular cultural nationalism of the nineteenth century. In *Ulysses*, this is explored through Leopold Bloom, a character whose wife is a light opera singer. When it comes to popular political lyric, Bloom is revealed as profoundly out of sympathy with those songs that are informed by the mixed ideology of nationalism and Catholicism. For the title of Moore's famous song about the silencing of the Irish national instrument and the need to reawaken it, 'The Harp that Once through Tara's Halls', Bloom substitutes, 'The harp that once did starve us all' (*U*8.606–7). Bloom seems to blame the songs of disconsolate nationalism for Famine and the great memory of starvation at mid-century which hangs over the subsequent history of Victorian Ireland. His parody may even represent what Colin McCabe, referring to the effects of the performance of a nationalist song in a

hotel bar in 'Sirens', calls Joyce's refusal of 'the full unified identity offered by ultra-nationalism'.⁶

This chapter is interested more in the lyric nationalism inherited by Joyce than any quest for 'full unified identity'. Suffice to say that the synthetic Irish forms from the nineteenth century that are quoted and sung throughout Joyce's work serve both as a mnemonic for the unresolved history of that century and a scattering of the obsolete detritus of its culture, a culture from which Bloom attempts to extract himself. Joyce may have sought that extraction, too: as we will see later, his characterisation of James Clarence Mangan, enclosed so straitly in abject historical circumstances as to be 'the type of his race', served as a warning to the young writer who sought to escape from such claustrophobia through exile. Within Dublin, but outside Catholic nationalist culture, Bloom presents a consistent sceptical commentary on its incessant 'backward glance'.⁷ Whether Joyce shares in Bloom's view is another matter: as Emer Nolan says, in answer to McCabe, what those around Bloom 'experience collectively, he experiences on his own'.⁸ That is, outsider or not, he experiences the song nevertheless. Joyce is thus placed in the sort of ironic relation to Bloom's politics as Bloom is to the politics which obsesses the Irish around him. For his part, Joyce does not so much double back into collective nationalism as remain ambivalent towards it, but he did share in the Victorian musical tastes of his Dubliners, tastes which verged on the kitsch.

The nationalist song that is sung in 'Sirens' is the Young Ireland ballad, 'The Croppy Boy', a favourite performance piece of the young Joyce.⁹ It appears throughout *Ulysses*, mixing violent nationalism and an act of deceiving blasphemy. It was first published in *The Nation* newspaper in 1845 by William McBurney under the pseudonym Carroll Malone. McBurney and fellow Young Irelanders, such as Charles Gavan Duffy, editor of *The Nation* and Thomas Osborne Davis, presiding intellect and author of the nationalist anthem, 'A Nation Once Again', initially promoted the non-sectarian republicanism of their United Irishman precursors. It was a consensus not to last long after the early death of Davis and the mounting anger against the mismanagement of Famine by the British. 'The Croppy Boy' is a typical production of the period, and it tells the story of a young United Irish rebel, or croppy (so-called due to the habit of wearing short-cropped hair), who has lost all of his family in the Wexford rising of 1798. The boy seeks a priest to make his confession before he goes off to join the rebels and die, but a British officer is impersonating the priest, and he unveils himself to betray the sanctity of the confessional and so to capture the croppy boy and have him hung. George Zimmermann says that the lyric was set to a Gaelic melody

which has been traced to the seventeenth century,¹⁰ and the simple melody and rhythm, an AABC structure across an anapaestic tetrameter line which rhymes in couplets, serve the propagandist message of the song. It is a message repeated throughout the bestselling Young Ireland ballads collected in Duffy's *The Spirit of the Nation* song and lyric pamphlets, of a conscientious Irish rebel tricked by a perfidious English colonial power. Even so, 'The Croppy Boy' is not just naïve public lyricism: its sentimentalism is redeemed by the directness and simplicity of its form and its narrative, and its melody is evocative of a long musical lineage not strictly connected to the specific needs of its composition to assist the need for Young Ireland to invent a nationalist culture for its newly English-speaking followers.

The song performs a number of duties simultaneously in its relation to its origins, its composition and its subsequent performance history. These duties are multiplied when it is performed in the 'Sirens' episode of *Ulysses*, and again when the croppy boy himself makes his appearance as a 'character' in 'Circe'. A dramatic piano accompaniment is described, but Joyce's 'fugal' narrative technique is more concerned to provide the accompaniment of Bloom's commentary on the song, his wandering thoughts and his gathering impatience with it. For example, the croppy justifies his insurgency in the confessional thus:

I bear no hate against living thing,
But I love my country above the King.
Now, Father, bless me and let me go,
To die if God has ordained it so.¹¹

We are aware of the performance of this verse only through Bloom's gloss: 'Ireland comes now. My country above the king. She listens. Who fears to speak of nineteen four? Time to be shoving. Looked enough' (*UII*.1072–1073). 'My country above the King' may be Bloom filling in a lyric he knows is about to come in the performance. Certainly, 'Ireland comes now' introduces the 'big word'. The reminder of the present year, 'Who fears to speak of nineteen four?' updates a line from another Young Ireland ballad on the events of Wexford, John Kells Ingram's 'The Memory of the Dead' (1843), which begins 'Who fears to speak of Ninety-Eight?'¹²

All this conveys Bloom's impatience with a culture mired in the past (1798), afraid of the present (1904). Such commentary, of course, will not stand still in Joyce's version of the present, since Bloom's thoughts move rapidly on to 'She', who is the barmaid-siren being ogled by him and the other men in the Hotel. Bloom then suggests he has 'Looked enough.' This girl appears to be rapt in the performance, but is also, Bloom strongly

suspects, aware that she is being watched. At one point she makes a gesture with her hand over a phallic beer pump, which may be either unconscious ('All lost in pity for croppy') or deliberate display ('she knows his eyes, my eyes, her eyes') but is nevertheless arousing: Bloom stirs 'with a cock with a carra' (*U* 11.1113–18). He does not quite get out on time to avoid the tragic denouement of the song, so the reader retains glimpses of the tearful, if tipsy, audience who have been taken in by the performance of a song which they know well and by which they are always prepared to be moved: 'They know it all by heart. The thrill they itch for' (*U* 11.1083).

Joyce's writing of this experience of listening to music (or maybe of a man taking the opportunity of the distractions of a woman listening to music so that he can stare at her) is one of the great set-pieces of *Ulysses*. It enables him to bring out the peculiarities of an Irish Romantic and Victorian song culture drawn to the thrill of defeat and violent death, the shock of blasphemy and an easy hatred of the treacherous British. When the croppy boy returns in the 'Circe' episode it is to be hung. He repeats Stephen's sin, not to pray for his dead mother, as a sin of omission: the words of the confessional in the song are emitted from a noose-strangled throat, 'Horhot ho hray ho rhothor's hest' (*U* 15.4547); 'Croppy Boy', verse 6: 'And [I] forgot to pray for my mother's rest'). The jokes move beyond the mixture of nationalist sentiment and the male gaze of 'Sirens' into a sort of satirical macabre, carrying its commentary in a multiply blasphemous vision (against the sacraments, the nation and 'The Croppy Boy' itself) of women under the scaffold mopping up the semen of the priapic hanged boy. The blasphemy is political as well as religious, and shows itself as most blasphemy does, as a joke. But when the comedy touches on Irish politics and history, *Ulysses* remains concerned with execution and death. 'Sirens' ends with Bloom attempting to suppress a fart, but against the accompaniment of words read from 'a gallant pictured hero' in a shop window. The hero is Robert Emmet, who was hanged after the betrayal of a failed insurrection in 1803. His speech from the dock after sentence was passed had asked that his epitaph not be written until his nation took its place among the nations of the earth. Bloom may be either remembering these words or reading them from the picture, and they invoke another of Joyce's nineteenth-century precursors.

Mention of Emmet inevitably brings in the songs of Thomas Moore and they return in the next episode, just after the first discussion in the novel of the physiological effects of sudden strangulation. There it is in conversation between a now openly anti-nationalist Bloom and the Citizen, the one-eyed, monologic Fenian. They are discussing the glorious dead, 'Wolfe Tone beyond on Arbour Hill Robert Emmet and die for your country, the

Tommy Moore touch and she's far from the land' (*U* 12.499–501). 'She Is Far from the Land' is an 1811 lyric of Moore's about Sarah Curran, the pining lover of the executed hero. Moore was a college friend of Emmet, and his *Irish Melodies* initially took as their theme the national mood of despair after the defeats of 1798 and 1803.

Moore's *Melodies* have recently attracted serious attention from readers of Irish literature and students of Irish music.¹³ They are a strange synthetic mix: working from the music collected by the United Irish antiquarian Edward Bunting,¹⁴ in 1807 Moore undertook to produce a series of songs based on Irish tunes for his publisher William Power. These songs would match English lyrics composed by Moore, to melodies originally performed on the Irish harp. Following the fashion of the day, they were then set by the composer Sir John Stevenson in 'symphonic' arrangements for pianoforte, an instrument with a much greater melodic and harmonic range than the harp. It was hoped that the series would repeat the great success of the settings made by many composers of the Scottish songs of Robert Burns. The result was an extraordinary publishing phenomenon: retained by Power and his brother for the large sum of £500 a year, Moore was to publish ten numbers of the *Irish Melodies* between 1808 and 1834, eventually 123 songs. After his death, expensive editions of *Moore's Melodies* (as they became known) proliferated in Ireland, Britain and America, typically expensively illustrated and published in rich green leather bindings embossed with golden harps and shamrocks.

These songs did much to create a national and international taste for sentimental Irishness in the nineteenth century, and they are sprinkled throughout Joyce's work, nineteen of them in *Ulysses* alone.¹⁵ Joyce's greatest short story, 'The Dead' partly derives its title from Moore's song 'O, ye Dead', which Joyce used to sing. The *Melodies* mix love songs ('The Last Rose of Summer', mentioned in 'Sirens') and songs based on Irish myth ('The Song of Fionnuala', better known as 'Silent O Moyle', is played in 'Two Gallants' in *Dubliners*). A recurrent theme is the subject of historical defeat, death and exile as in 'The Minstrel Boy' or 'She Is Far from the Land'. What Joyce does not shy away from is one of the distinctive features of Moore's work, in which the forms of suppressed resistance are written as secretive and ultimately symbolist. The lyrics of the *Melodies* are written in a symbolic mode which the young Yeats (for all his ambivalence towards Moore) might embrace but which the young Joyce, with his concern for the revelations of epiphany, resisted.

Nevertheless, the songs serve as a sort of shorthand for those who knew Irish history and as a source of mysterious knowledge for those who did not:

their large international audience was attracted instead to Celtic wistfulness and deliberate lyrical indirectness. Much of Joyce's work, like his hero Bloom, is resolutely anti-Romantic, but he would not pass off Moore's work as mere drawing-room sentimentality. Bloom's 'the harp that once did starve us all' suggests the dangers of an attachment to Romantic nationalism, and the invocation of Emmet and the songs which followed from Moore suggest that the imagined national character is worked out of defeat and death, the seductions of which even sentimental songs seem willing to entertain. The Moore songs about Emmet, 'She Is Far from the Land', 'Oh Breathe not his Name', or 'When He, who Adores Thee', speak of an underground feeling which frequently erupted into failed insurrection throughout the nineteenth century (and indeed partially successful rebellion while Joyce was writing *Ulysses*). Nominally a love song, 'When He, who Adores Thee', for instance, tempts the full martyrology of Irish nationalism: 'But the next dearest blessing that Heaven can give / Is the pride of thus dying for thee.'¹⁶

It would be taking the side of Bloom rather more than that of Joyce to say that his attitude to this strain of nineteenth-century lyricism is always critical or satiric. While they provide material for a satire of the dominant tone of a provincial sentimentality which reduces martyrdom, exile, execution and defeat to bathos or worse, kitsch, they were nevertheless popular songs, and Joyce does not shirk describing their power as substantial historical agents in their own right. The memory of the dead persists within them, and their performers and audiences still allowed themselves collectively to speak of or listen to narrative lyrics of ninety-eight, Emmet or the Famine. The difficulty with the historical agency of this lyricism is rather more than just the matter of finding a suitable tone, given that it had rare moments when it turned to a political future (Davis' 'A Nation Once Again' for instance) or present ('Who Fears to Speak of Nineteen Four?'), and seemed secure in a mood where the feeling of defeat might be safely and nostalgically prolonged.

For the Irish artist, these lyrics present a problem with satisfactory form, a problem of finding an adequate *tone*, and the Dublin poet of the 1830s and 1840s James Clarence Mangan seems to have provided an early warning to the young Joyce of the difficulties of finding that tone. Joyce wrote two pieces of criticism on Mangan, the first in 1902 for an Irish audience and the second in Italian in 1907, the remnants of which show its indebtedness to the first piece. This latter lecture shows us Joyce teaching a foreign audience about the Irish fixation with misfortune: 'All his [Mangan's] poetry remembers wrongs and suffering and the aspiration of one who is moved to great cries and gestures when he sees again in his thoughts the hour of his sorrow.

This is the theme of much of Irish poetry, but no other Irish song is as full of those of Mangan, of nobly suffered misfortunes and such irreparable devastations of the soul' (*OCPW* 135).

Mangan has thus long been regarded as an exemplar of the sorrow-fixated Irish lyricist: figured as a *poète maudit*, his main achievement is the wrecked glamour that his Whig establishment precursor Moore could never quite manage.¹⁷ Following in the tradition of the Young Irelander who most strongly advocated violent nationalism, Mangan's friend and editor, John Mitchel,¹⁸ Joyce's 1902 account of Mangan pictures an outsider ruined by a provincial culture denied articulatory by Famine, misgovernment and repression. Joyce writes him as a sort of ultra-radicalised Shelley, not so much legislator of the age as its violent yet fantasising opponent:

Poetry, even when apparently most fantastic, is always a revolt against artifice, in a sense against actuality. It speaks of what seems fantastic and unreal to those who have lost the simple intuitions which are the tests of reality; and, as it is often found at war with its age, it makes no account of history, which is fabled by the daughters of memory, but sets store by every time less than the pulsation of an artery, the time in which its intuitions start forth, holding it equal in its period and value to six thousand years. No doubt they are only men of letters who insist on the succession of the ages, and history and the denial of reality, for they are two names for one thing, may be said to be that which deceives the whole world. In this as in much else, Mangan is the type of his race. History encloses him so straitly that even his fiery moments do not set him free from it. (*OCPW* 59)

This is a complex piece of writing: in its invocation of the timing of the human pulse against that of the time of a pre-Darwinian Christian creation it is perhaps impossibly obscure. Yet in its counter-intuitive play of history as the opponent of reality, Joyce writes very much in the spirit of Mangan's own wilfully paradoxical prose. Paradox or not, history closes in on its subject, who suffers from the claustrophobia of his 'race'. 'With Mangan', Joyce says a few lines later, 'a narrow and hysterical nationality receives a last justification.'

Joyce seems to suggest that a culture of sorrow and defeat must be allowed justification. What, then, saves it from the satire and bathos heard by Leopold Bloom, and sounded as comic in *Ulysses*? Mangan is required to do much work in order to achieve what Moore or McBurney, for all the pleasure that Joyce himself took in their sentimentality, failed to do. He is perhaps required also to be the Dublin counterpart of Joyce himself, a reminder of the traps waiting for the young Dublin intellectual. For Joyce, Mangan's 'fiery moments' resist those who would constrain the hero-as-artist, Stephen Dedalus' Byronic conception of the transcendence of art through the figure of the artist himself.

The 1907 Italian lecture contains one example of this, taken from Mangan's great 1846 version of the sixteenth-century Irish poet Eochaidh O hEódhasa's 'Fuar leam an adhaighse d'Aodh' (as 'O'Hussey's Ode to the Maguire'). The poem ends with a theme of betrayal introduced by the translator to heighten the imagined abjection of the Irish chieftain, an abjection rhetorically redeemed by an italicised memory of the heroic ferocity of his ancient nobleness. Joyce introduces it thus, in his Italian lecture, translating Mangan for his audience:

Sometimes the music [of Mangan's verse] seems to awake from its languor and cry out in the ecstasy of battle. In the final stanza of the lament for the princes of Tir-owen and Tirconnell, in lengthy lines of tremendous power, Mangan has put all the desperate energy of his race.

And though frost glaze to-night the clear dew of his eyes
And white ice-gauntlets glove his noble fair fine fingers o'er
A warm dress is to him that lightning-garb he ever wore,
The lightning of the soul not skies.

Hugh marched forth to the fight – I grieved to see him so depart;
And lo! to-night he wanders frozen, rain-drenched, sad, betrayed –
*But the memory of the limewhite mansions his right hand hath laid
In ashes warms the hero's heart!*

I know of no other piece of English literature where the spirit of revenge has attained such heights of melody.¹⁹ (*OCPW* 134)

This is extraordinary praise indeed, heightened further by the fact that the extract from Mangan was in Joyce's own Italian, an Italian translation of an English translation from the Irish which nevertheless must show a spirit of revenge sustained across three languages for over three hundred years. Much in the manner of a Victorian dramatic monologue, Mangan's ostensible 'translation' of O'Hussey's poem recreates the sounds of the bard's voice, the emphasis not so much on his chieftain wandering through the hostile weather of a soaked freezing Irish landscape as the desolation of the poet transformed in his writing and speech to thoughts of a vindicating revenge. This is something like a last justification, and Joyce hears in Mangan the persistence and not the finality of these texts translated and alluded to across the seemingly stalled national history of the nineteenth century.

The Victorian poetry of Mangan, the Romantic songs of Moore, the songs of Young Ireland and the Fenians or the street ballads of Dublin are the sonic furniture of the modernist epic which is Joyce's *Ulysses*. They seem to pander all too easily to modernism's distaste for a Victorian 'passion of the past', rendered palatable because it is past. But Joyce knew that the 'spirit of

revenge' had not quite left narrow and hysterical Irish nationality. These texts speak of the sustaining of national sorrow, a sorrow which turns to anger in the 'Cyclops' episode of *Ulysses* and turned to armed insurrection in Joyce's own lifetime. These nineteenth-century texts which sound through Joyce's work were not so obsolete in 1904 or indeed in 1922. They speak of the persistence of a culture founded on a lyric conception of nationalism, in which poetry and history share the same straitened, narrow melody.

NOTES

1. See Ruth H. Bauerle, ed., *The James Joyce Songbook* (New York: Garland, 1982).
2. See also Stephen Dedalus in 'Nestor' (*U* 2.264).
3. See for instance Mabel P. Worthington, 'Irish Folk Songs in Joyce's *Ulysses*', *PMLA*, 71.3 (June 1956): 321–39.
4. Examples of these contrasting types would be 'Eamonn an Chnuic', a seventeenth-century Gaelic song, the melody of which was much plundered for nineteenth-century lyrics; and 'The Lass of Aughrim', originally a Scottish song, sung in 'The Dead'.
5. I prefer the word synthetic to the more commonly used 'hybrid'. For an account of hybridity and Irish song, see David Lloyd, 'Adulteration and the Nation', in *Anomalous States: Irish Writing and the Post-Colonial Moment* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1993), pp. 88–124.
6. Colin McCabe, *James Joyce and the Revolution of the Word* (London: Macmillan, 1978), p. 87.
7. See Mangan's 'O'Hussey's Ode to the Maguire', l. 48, in Shaun Ryder, ed., *James Clarence Mangan: Selected Writings* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2004), p. 203.
8. Emer Nolan, *James Joyce and Nationalism* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 63.
9. Joyce performed the song at the Ancient Concert Rooms on 27 August 1904, on which occasion he shared the stage with the Irish tenor John McCormack (*JJ* 168). Bauerle, ed., *Joyce Songbook*, p. 269, prints Joyce's instructions to his son on how to perform the song.
10. George Zimmermann, *Songs of Irish Rebellion: Irish Political Street Ballads and Songs, 1780–1900*, 2nd edn (Dublin: Four Courts, 2002), pp. 228–9.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*, p. 226.
13. See Seamus Deane, *Strange Country* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 66–9; Harry White, *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland, 1770–1970* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998), pp. 36–52; and my 'Thomas Moore's Wild Song: The 1821 *Irish Melodies*', *Bullán*, 4.2 (2000): 83–103.
14. Edward Bunting, *A General Collection of Ancient Irish Music* (Dublin: W. Power, 1796).
15. See Don Gifford and Robert J. Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated: Notes for James Joyce's Ulysses* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), index.

16. A. D. Godley, ed., *The Poetical Work of Thomas Moore* (London: Oxford University Press, 1910), p. 182.
17. Deane, *Strange Country*, pp. 122–39.
18. See John Mitchel, James Clarence Mangan, *Poems* (New York: Haverly, 1859).
19. This is Conor Deane's translation back into English. Joyce confuses the title of the poem with Mangan's 1840 translation of Owen Roe Mac an Bhaird's 'A Elegy on the Tironian and Tirconnelian Princes Buried at Rome'.

*The Irish Revival**Clare Hutton*

The Irish Literary Revival – a movement which was concerned with reviving Irish culture and creating a national literature – was flourishing in Dublin during the earliest years of Joyce's formation as a writer. Set in motion by Yeats and a handful of his peers (most notably Lady Gregory, J. M. Synge, George Russell and Douglas Hyde), it was immediately obvious to some that Joyce would not participate directly in this movement. In August 1902, for example, George 'AE' Russell breathlessly told Yeats he must meet 'a young fellow named Joyce ... an extremely clever boy who belongs to your clan more than to mine and more still to himself'.¹ Though he was later to be haplessly ridiculed by Joyce in *Ulysses* ('A.E.I.O.U.', 'Crosslegged under an umbrel umbershoot he thrones an Aztec logos, functioning on astral levels', *U* 9.213, 9.280), Russell's identification of this 'youth of 21' with 'intellectual equipment, culture and education', who 'writes amazingly well in prose' was to prove on the mark. For Joyce did prove to be a 'clan' of his own, choosing not to engage with either Yeats' activities in establishing an Irish theatre, or Russell's various enterprises as a writer, mystic and organiser of agricultural co-operatives. Yet it is clearly the case that Joyce could not have evolved as he did had it not been for his exposure to revivalist enterprises, and his engagement with other writers who were trying to establish self-consciously Irish modes of writing.

The question of the relationship between Joyce and the Irish Literary Revival can be pursued through literary texts or biographical documents. The biographical evidence competes strongly with the narrative of self-fashioning which Joyce constructs in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and *Ulysses*, especially through the characterisation of Stephen Dedalus, a semi-autobiographical and ironic self-portrait, who *appears* to re-enact many of Joyce's actual experiences but who is, nonetheless, a self constructed in fiction, however historically 'real' he may seem. The primary focus of this essay is on the interpretation of Joyce's literary

texts, but I will begin by examining some biographical evidence that casts surprising light on Joyce's sense of affiliation and closeness to the movement.

In a letter of August 1912, when it seemed that the Dublin firm of Maunsel and Company would finally publish *Dubliners*, Joyce excitedly wrote to Nora and invited her to the Abbey Theatre where 'they will give plays of Yeats and Synge'. He continued, somewhat unusually: 'You have a right to be there because you are my bride: and I am one of the writers of this generation who are perhaps creating at last a conscience in the soul of this wretched race' (*L* II 311). This letter affords a rare glimpse of the artist without his mask, and makes the famously ironic conclusion of *Portrait* ('I go to encounter for the millionth time the reality of experience and to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race', *P* 270) seem momentarily less ironic. The prominent references to Synge in *Ulysses* – 'The trumper Synge is looking for you ... He heard you pissed on his hall door in Glasthule' – (*U* 9.569) also read rather differently when one realises that Joyce recognised Synge to be a writer with 'wonderful vision' and wished he could witness at first-hand the arguments which erupted at the first performances of Synge's *Playboy of the Western World* in January 1907. Living in Rome and piecing together a living as a bank clerk at the time, Joyce found the 'whole affair' of the *Playboy* riots left him feeling so 'upset' that he was 'put off' writing a story he had planned: he told his brother Stanislaus, 'I feel like a man in a house who hears a row in the street and voices he knows shouting but can't get out to see what the hell is going on' (*L* II 211). Taken together, these two letters remind us of a Joyce who wished to witness some of the events of the Literary Revival at first hand, and who regarded himself – however momentarily – as part of it. The picture which emerges is one of a writer who is certainly more viscerally engaged by revivalist culture than the artist constructed in fiction, Stephen Dedalus, who remains tacitly aloof, determined not to 'serve' 'home', 'fatherland' or 'church' and trying, as he says, to express himself 'in some mode of life or art as freely as I can and as wholly as I can' (*P* 269).

In *Joyce and the Anglo-Irish* Len Platt has argued that Joyce's response to revivalism, 'far from being marginal, is actually fundamental to the quality of *Ulysses*, to the kind of text that *Ulysses* is'.² I agree with this argument and wish to take it further: Joyce's response to revivalism is fundamental to his formation as a writer, and, as I shall illustrate through brief discussions of *Ulysses*, *Portrait*, *Dubliners* and *Chamber Music*, is significant for all of his texts. In a sense the reason is simple: revivalism *has* to be significant for the

prose texts because they are concerned with the realistic depiction of life in Dublin during the period when Joyce lived there and revivalism itself was flourishing. But the way in which Joyce responds to the culture of revivalism is complicated and differs from text to text. On the one hand Joyce learns craft and technique from writers involved in the Revival (especially Yeats); on the other hand, he parodies and ridicules the whole movement. Derision, or, as Platt terms it, 'snide', is a particularly important aspect of *Ulysses*, which has two chapters where revivalism provides the explicit cultural environment for the action, the 'Library' and the 'Cyclops' episodes. The 'Library' scene promotes a view of 'Literary Revivalism' as the affair of a haughty self-involved Protestant minority who could not cater for the interests of gifted young intellectuals such as Dedalus. In 'Cyclops', Bloom is exposed to the mentalities of a broader kind of Irish cultural revival which involved the tokenistic use of the Irish language, the revival of Irish industrial interests ('our flax and our damask from the looms of Antrim' (*U* 12.1243)), the advocacy of physical force nationalism ('we'll put force against force' (*U* 12.1364)) and the creation of an insular Gaelic, Catholic state ('we want no more strangers in our house' (*U* 12.1150)). That Dedalus and Bloom respectively are made to feel uncomfortable (if not downright unwelcome) in these scenes is one of the key critiques of revivalism which *Ulysses* advances, with the implication being that revivalism could not therefore serve Joyce who embodies aspects of both the youthful Dedalus (disingenuous intellectual brilliance) and the middle-aged Bloom (humanism, bewilderment and intense curiosity).

Interpretive general conclusions of this kind are rarely made about *Ulysses* because the text is long, difficult to read and even more difficult to 'finish' in any kind of conventional understanding of that word. Moreover, by challenging modes of realistic representation, it challenges conventional types of interpretation, involving, for example, the analysis of character and recurring theme. It is significant therefore that Joyce's point about the inadequacy of the Literary Revival is reiterated constantly through multiple references and allusions to the writers involved in the movement, especially in [chapters 1](#) and [9](#). The overt historicity of the text is also significant in both of these chapters because, at different levels and in different ways, Joyce is inviting readers to assess his fiction in relation to what they may surmise from historical records. In [chapter 9](#), for example, Mulligan mentions 'Longworth', a clear reference to Ernest Longworth (1874–1935), editor of the *Daily Express* from 1901 to 1904. Longworth, he tells Dedalus:

is awfully sick ... after what you wrote about that old hake Gregory. O you inquisitional drunken jewjesuit! She gets you a job on the paper and then you go and slate her drivel to Jaysus. Couldn't you do the Yeats touch? ... The most beautiful book that has come out of our country in my time. One thinks of Homer. (*U* 9.1158–65)

It is true that Lady Gregory was responsible for getting Joyce reviews on the paper and that Joyce subsequently took the opportunity to review Lady Gregory's *Poets and Dreamers*, a collection of folklore, in hostile terms (see *OPCW* 74–6). Mulligan is almost quoting Yeats here: Yeats' preface to another of Gregory's works, *Cuchulainn of Muirthemne* (1902) opened with the famous and much mocked sentence 'I think this book is the best that has come out of Ireland in my time' and he later described the work as 'a book meant for everybody, the Iliad of a people'.³ But why, in the end, does Joyce go to such elaborate lengths to rework the discourse of actual reviews? On the one hand, he wants to expose the nature of revivalist publicity and the faintly ludicrous culture of mutual admiration shared between people like Yeats, Gregory, Synge and Russell; on the other hand, he is suggesting that Yeats' 'touch' as a reviewer would be better applied to *Ulysses*, a 'beautiful book' which (of course) does bear comparison to Homer. What is also significant here is the fact that Joyce creates this moment, with its elaborate interpretive and comic effects, by virtue of his own refusal to either serve or fit in with revivalist culture.

One of the ways in which Joyce enhances the realism of the characters in *Ulysses* is by noting real books which they have read (or intend to read). This elaborate textual game, which is established in [chapter 1](#), encourages real life readers to understand fictional characters by reading what they read, and by developing some feeling for what they aspire to as readers. Thus if you want to understand Haines in fiction, in real life you must read primers of the Irish language and Hyde's *Love Songs of Connacht*. For Dedalus, see Aristotle, Aquinas, Shakespeare and early Yeats. For Molly, try Charles Paul de Kock ('Nice name he has') (*U* 4.358). Mulligan, like Haines, is much interested in the Literary Revival, and his mention of the first edition of Yeats' *In the Seven Woods* (1903) is worth considering in some detail. *In the Seven Woods* was the first book to be printed by Yeats' younger sister, Elizabeth Corbet Yeats (1868–1940) at the Dun Emer Press, a private press which was part of an Irish Arts and Crafts Co-operative set up by Evelyn Gleeson in order to train and employ Irish women, and 'to make beautiful things'.⁴ Bound with the play, *On Baile's Strand*, *In the Seven Woods* was also the first collection of poetry Yeats had published since *The Wind among the Reeds* (1899) and is much more hesitant and uneven in quality than that earlier volume. A note on the text by

Yeats, prominently printed in red (as the press had not yet acquired an italic font, and he wished to draw a typographical distinction between prefatory matter and literary content), indicates that the work was completed ‘before the big wind of nineteen hundred and three blew down so many trees ... and changed the look of things’ but hardly commends the finished text. In the note Yeats confesses his great difficulty in writing *On Baile’s Strand* (‘I never re-wrote anything so many times’), and implies that he is dissatisfied with aspects of his current style in the suggestion that his future poetry may be ‘less dream-burdened’. Finally he expresses the hope that ‘our new Irish players will find the buskin and the sock’, the buskin being used here metaphorically to suggest the style or spirit of tragic drama.⁵ All of this, together with the rather pompous volume subtitle – *Being Poems Chiefly of the Irish Heroic Age* – makes *In the Seven Woods* an obvious target for Mulligan who decries the project as ‘Five lines of text and ten pages of notes about the folk and fishgods of Dundrum. Printed by the weird sisters in the year of the big wind’ (U 1.366–7).

While this isolated comment might be interpreted as merely a comical and casual aside, characteristic of Mulligan’s derisory and ebullient repartee, the fact that he mentions *In the Seven Woods*, in chapter 9 makes it obvious that something of greater critical significance is at stake. As he leaves the National Library with Dedalus in chapter 9, Mulligan ‘trills’ what is clearly a set-piece, a re-working of the opening lines of ‘Baile and Aillinn’, one of the narrative poems in the volume, awkwardly written in tetrameter couplets and (again) glaringly printed in the original in red.⁶ Mulligan’s version catches the rhythm, the theme of sexual frustration and Yeats’ over-elaborate syntax very effectively:

*I hardly hear the purlieu cry
Or a Tommy talk as I pass one by
Before my thoughts begin to run
On F. M’Curdy Atkinson,
The same that had the wooden leg
And that filibustering filibeg
That never dared to slake his drouth,
Magee that had the chinless mouth.
Being afraid to marry on earth
They masturbated for all they were worth.* (U 9.1143–52)

Joyce adds to this brilliant though cruel parody by making Mulligan the vehicle of jibes at Yeats’ penchant for collecting folklore, his theatrical aspirations and the kind of grandiose rhetorical manner evident in the note to *In the Seven Woods*, which appears to be echoed in Mulligan’s comment that ‘Our

players are creating a new art for Europe like the Greeks ... I smell the public sweat of monks' (U 9.1130). The youthful Joyce did object to many of Yeats' projects and no doubt found Yeats' genius for publicity somewhat irritating. It is likely that he saw the proofs of *In the Seven Woods*, as he passed through London and visited Yeats in December 1902.⁷ Oliver St John Gogarty, the model for Mulligan as a character, was among the first subscribers to *In the Seven Woods*, which was sold only by subscription – in fact Gogarty bought six copies and he probably did cite the book *ad infinitum*.⁸ What is more significant in all of this, however, is that Joyce has caught Yeats at a weak moment in his aesthetic development, and is recording that view in fiction. This is not necessarily Joyce's final (or real) view, but a view which has been constructed to help establish a sense of his aesthetic position in relation to the Irish Literary Revival.

In this regard, the emphasis on the precise means and manner of *In the Seven Woods* as a publication is telling – by the fourteenth episode of *Ulysses* Dun Emer is dubbed the 'Druidrum press' and Elizabeth Yeats and her assistants the 'designing females' who produce 'beautiful' books with 'calf covers of pissedon green' (U 14.1456). Clearly there is a sort of bibliographical envy and disapproval at work here: envy, because the control of Dun Emer gave Yeats complete control over the shaping of his texts as well as the assurance that his own work would be published, and disapproval because the advantages of private press publication have been squandered with *In the Seven Woods*. One reason why this tension is played out with such force in *Ulysses* is due to Joyce's own vexed publishing history, and particularly that of his first completed prose text, *Dubliners*, which took over eight years to appear.⁹ While the details of the dispute are too complicated to rehearse here, it is worth drawing attention to some of the facts. First, a few of the stories in *Dubliners* were originally published in *The Irish Homestead*, the journal edited by George Russell and an obvious Revival context. This perhaps raised the hope that the stories once collected would be acceptable in such a context. Secondly, Maunsel and Company, the Dublin firm which agreed to bring out *Dubliners* after the collection had been rejected by the London-based Grant Richards, delayed publishing the text for over three years while publishing many other works of the Literary Revival. Joyce's letters of the period make it clear that he associated potential publication in Ireland with a profound desire to gain literary recognition in Ireland.¹⁰ When the agreement to publish *Dubliners* fell apart, in August 1912, he felt 'the whole future of my life slipping out of my grasp' (L II 311). He left Ireland a few weeks later, never to return – even to visit – and it is this moment, rather than the earlier departure of 1904, which marks the true

beginning of his exile. But this departure is also ultimately a moment of liberation: Joyce's extremely trying experience of seeking publication in Dublin helped to seal his sense of alienation from the other writers of 'this generation', and served him with a rich seam of material for *Ulysses*, a text which works very hard to expose the occasionally amateur and self-congratulatory nature of revivalist literary culture and publishing practice.

'A Little Cloud' in *Dubliners* further contributes to Joyce's critique of revivalist publicity. When Little Chandler contemplates the life he might have had as a poet in London, he acknowledges the significance of the 'English critics':

The English critics perhaps would recognise him as one of the Celtic school by reason of the melancholy tone of his poems; ... He began to invent sentences and phrases from the notices which his book would get. *Mr Chandler has the gift of easy and graceful verse ... A wistful sadness pervades these poems. The Celtic note.* (D 68–9)

There is a taut critical intelligence at work within this moment of reverie, an intelligence which has considered the cultural economies which inevitably came about when Irish writers of Joyce's generation (who were British colonial subjects after all) appealed to 'English' critics by writing about Ireland in a 'melancholy' way. Yeats was one such writer, and though Joyce is at pains neither to name nor critique Yeats in this story, he is mocking writers who wish to be recognised as belonging to the Celtic 'school' (such as the aspirational Chandler who desires a more 'Irish-looking' surname (D 69)). The Dedalus of *A Portrait*, in contrast, is determined to set himself against such commodification and to 'fly' from the nets which are 'flung' when 'the soul of a man is born' in Ireland. When his fellow student Davin encourages him to 'learn Irish' and 'try to be one of us', Dedalus famously retorts: 'You talk to me of nationality, language, religion. I shall try to fly by those nets' (P 220). Crucially, however, this stance does not solve the problem of authenticity, because much of what Dedalus (a 'born sneerer' (P 219)) says is, or at least appears to be, intended ironically.

In the midst of the difficulties concerning the proposed publication of *Dubliners* by Grant Richards in London, Joyce told Stanislaus that 'A page of "A Little Cloud" gives me more pleasure than all my verses' (L II 182). Given the content of *Chamber Music* (1907), which is an obvious apprentice text, and the rather more subtle ironies of the position developed in 'A Little Cloud', this is hardly surprising. Chandler hesitates about his vocation as a writer ('Could he write something original?'), weighs 'his soul to see if it was a poet's soul' and feels overwhelmed by the 'many different moods and impressions that he wished to express in verse' (D 68). Clearly Joyce is

dramatising his own experiences, particularly the experience of writing *Chamber Music*, for which he first sought publication in 1903.¹¹ By 1906, when the collection had still not been published, he had developed grave misgivings about the volume. He thought the title *Chamber Music* was 'too complacent' and wished that he could think of another title 'which to a certain extent repudiated the book, without altogether disparaging it' (*L* II 182). When he re-read the manuscript, he thought the poems 'poor and trivial: some phrases and lines pleased me and no more' (*L* II 182). As the book was rejected by publisher after publisher, Joyce outgrew the moment of its composition, and settled upon prose as his main literary medium. Viewed from the perspective of the history of the Irish Literary Revival, and the anxiety of literary influence (to use Harold Bloom's famous phrase), it is also highly significant that the poetics of *Chamber Music* display an obvious literary debt to Yeats, particularly the Yeats of *The Wind among the Reeds*, a volume which Joyce admired intensely and described as 'poetry of the highest order' (*OCPW* 51).

The last poem in the collection, 'I Hear an Army Charging upon the Land', which Yeats described as a 'technical and emotional masterpiece' could almost have been written by Yeats (*JJ* 391). It is worth citing in full:

I hear an army charging upon the land,
 And the thunder of horses plunging, foam about their knees:
 Arrogant, in black armour, behind them stand,
 Disdaining the reins, with fluttering whips, the charioteers.
 They cry unto the night their battle-name:
 I moan in sleep when I hear afar their whirling laughter.
 They cleave the gloom of dreams, a blinding flame,
 Clanging, clanging upon the heart as upon an anvil.
 They come shaking in triumph their long, green hair:
 They come out of the sea and run shouting by the shore.
 My heart, have you no wisdom thus to despair?
 My love, my love, my love, why have you left me alone?¹²

The whole compass of the poem – the vision of an army of charioteers charging upon a shore and troubling the 'gloom' of the speaker's dream – echoes the thematic mood, diction and metres of *The Wind among the Reeds*, especially a poem such as 'The Valley of the Black Pig' which has a speaker who is 'weary of the world's empires' dreaming of unknown 'spears', 'perishing armies' and the 'clash of fallen horsemen'.¹³ In some respects the poem proves that Yeats – the most important writer of the Irish Literary Revival – did have something to offer Joyce in earnest, in terms of

demonstrating poetic technique, revealing potential subject-matter and showing him paths which he was better served not to take. It would be convenient for literary history to forget that Joyce ever wrote a text such as this because it reveals the anxiety of influence so obviously. But history is rarely straightforward, and one reason why the history of Joyce's engagement with revivalism is so complex is due to the fact that he held conflicting views contemporaneously. Though he condemned the Irish Literary Theatre as 'the property of the rabblement of the most belated race in Europe' (*OPCW* 50), he would like to have had occasional opportunity to attend. Though he could be abundantly cynical about the 'Celtic note', he was not above writing poems, such as the one cited, which sounded exactly that note. Finally, though he could chide Yeats for his 'treacherous instinct of adaptability' (*OPCW* 51), it is obvious that careful study of Yeats' evolution enabled him to develop and refine his own aesthetic vision.

NOTES

1. George Russell to W. B. Yeats, [August 1902], *Letters from AE*, ed. Alan Denson (London: Abelard-Schuman, 1961), p. 43.
2. Len Platt, *Joyce and the Anglo-Irish: A Study of Joyce and the Literary Revival* (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1998), p. 7.
3. Augusta Gregory, *Cuchulainn of Muirthemne*, with a Preface by W. B. Yeats (London: John Murray, 1902), p. vii; Yeats' description of this book as 'the Iliad of a people' is cited from manuscript materials by R. F. Foster, *W. B. Yeats: The Apprentice Mage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 264.
4. The first prospectus of the Dun Emer Industries quoted in full by Liam Miller, *The Dun Emer Press, later the Cuala Press* (New York: Typophiles, 1974), p. 15.
5. W. B. Yeats, *In the Seven Woods: Being Poems Chiefly of the Irish Heroic Age* (Dublin: Dun Emer Press, 1903), p. 25.
6. Printing small portions of a text in red was a standard feature of private press practice. This Dun Emer book overuses rubrication because the press had no other means of varying typographic emphasis, and Yeats and his sister did not yet have the expertise to recognise how clumsy the red looked.
7. In a letter to Lady Gregory written a few days after Joyce's visit, Yeats writes that he has 'received the first proof sheets of my sister's print of the Poems [and] they look very well indeed'; it is possible that he showed Joyce the proofs during the visit of 2 December or on Joyce's return visit (from Paris to Dublin, via London) on 23 December. (See W. B. Yeats to Augusta Gregory, 4 December, *The Collected Letters of W. B. Yeats*, III: 1901-1904, ed. John Kelly (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 268-9.
8. Subscribers' list, the Dun Emer and Cuala Archive, TCD.
9. For an outline of Joyce's publishing history see Stacey Herbert's essay in this volume and Michael Groden, 'A Textual and Publishing History' in Zack

- Bowen and James F. Carens, eds., *A Companion to James Joyce* (Westport and London: Greenwood Press, 1984), pp. 71–129. For the publishing history of *Dubliners* see my own ‘Chapters of Moral History: Failing to Publish *Dubliners*’, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 97 (2003): 495–519.
10. See, for example, JJ to Nora Barnacle Joyce, [22 August 1912] (*L* 11 311).
 11. James Joyce to Arthur Symons, 14 November 1903, quoted in James G. Nelson, *Elkin Mathews, Publisher to Yeats, Joyce and Pound* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), p. 113.
 12. James Joyce, *Poems and Shorter Writings*, ed. Richard Ellmann, A. Walton Litz and John Whittier-Ferguson (London: Faber & Faber, 1991), p. 48.
 13. W. B. Yeats, *The Major Works*, ed. with an introduction by Edward Larrissy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 32.

*The English literary tradition**Patrick Parrinder*

This chapter will not attempt to trace Joyce's literary precursors, in English literature or elsewhere, for that would be an unending task.¹ I shall be concerned, instead, with Joyce's explicit references to English literature and English writers, and especially with writers whose names and achievements take on a symbolic significance in his works. One such example is Percy Bysshe Shelley, whose eight-line fragment beginning 'Art thou pale for weariness' helps Stephen Dedalus to transcend his adolescent self-pity during his schooldays at Belvedere College. Some years later, when he is expounding his aesthetic theory to his fellow student Lynch, a more mature Stephen invokes Shelley's image of the creative mind as a 'fading coal' (P 231). As a poet, Shelley cannot be said to prefigure any aspect of Joyce's art except for the brief lyrics of *Chamber Music*, yet Joyce took it as a good omen when in 1906, on the first day of his first visit to Rome, he came across a plaque marking the house in which *The Cenci* and *Prometheus Unbound* had been written some ninety years earlier. Two weeks later, he seems to have taken his family to see Shelley's tomb in the Protestant cemetery (SL 90, 95). This visit stayed in his memory, since 'Shelley's grave in Rome' features in his notes to *Exiles* written in 1913 (PE 346).

Our knowledge of Joyce's reading in his early years is exceptionally rich, since his own autobiographical fiction is supplemented by numerous letters to his younger brother Stanislaus, and by Stanislaus' memoir *My Brother's Keeper*. It was to Stanislaus that Joyce reported in 1905 that he had been commissioned to write a summary of English history for a Berlitz School booklet for Japanese readers. In literature, he wrote, he had given 'the highest palms to Shakespeare, Wordsworth and Shelley' (SL 61-2). Wordsworth is the surprising inclusion here (although parallels can be drawn between their artistic achievements), since Joyce seems to have felt very little affinity for the English Protestant 'poet of nature'. In any case, his literary evaluations changed considerably as he grew older, with only his admiration for Shakespeare remaining constant. As a schoolboy he had been bullied for his

assertion that the 'heretic' Byron, not Tennyson, was the 'greatest poet', a scene that is reproduced in *A Portrait* (P 85). By the time of *Ulysses*, however, Byron features as a kind of matinee idol for Molly Bloom, while Stephen has evidently outgrown his enthusiasm for the poet. First Shelley supplanted Byron, and then Blake supplanted Shelley in Joyce's personal canon of the English Romantics. In 1912, at the age of thirty, he lectured in Italian on 'Realism and Idealism in English Literature', choosing to contrast Defoe and Blake.²

What Byron, Shelley and Blake have in common is, of course, that they were all rebels against the British political and literary establishment. Two of them, moreover, were exiles like Joyce himself. But if he found their artistic heroism compelling, he had little time for the mystical and visionary aspects of Shelley and Blake which had found favour with W. B. Yeats. Stephen Dedalus as a university student is haunted by lines from Yeats' lyrics and plays, just as he had earlier been haunted by some lines from Shelley. Yeats' shadow, and that of the Irish Literary Revival in which he was a leading presence, loomed over the Dublin writers of Joyce's generation. Both his turning away from Ireland and Britain towards Europe, and his turn from poetry and drama to the realistic fiction of *Dubliners*, reflect Joyce's need to separate his art from that of Yeats and the Revival. In addition, his complex and sometimes sharply negative relation to the English literary tradition is bound up with his often tortured rejections of the Catholic Church, of colonial Ireland and of British imperialism.

In *A Portrait*, Stephen's nationalist friend Davin observes that 'One time I hear you talk against English literature. Now you talk against Irish informers' (P 219). Douglas Hyde, the Gaelic scholar who would become first president of the Irish Republic, had spoken of the necessity of 'de-Anglicising' Ireland; among other things, this meant overcoming the cultural dominance of English literature and the British press. Joyce's feelings about the English cultural dominance were more complex. Like the 'West Briton' Gabriel Conroy in 'The Dead', for example, he was prepared to write for the literary pages of the *Daily Express*; and, also like Gabriel, he was attracted towards European sophistication rather than a supposedly unspoilt rural Ireland. In *A Portrait* Stephen comes to suspect that, as a middle-class Dubliner, he can only ever know English literature and its language at secondhand. He feels humiliated when the dean of studies, a 'countryman of Ben Jonson' (P 205), turns out to be ignorant of what he takes to be the Irish dialect word *tundish*. As Colbert Kearney has stated, Stephen fears that he has inherited 'a dialect which would always mark his subservience, ... which would always be peripheral, ... which would confine him to a

subculture which had not yet produced one major literary talent and might never'.³ Today, after the century of Yeats, Joyce, Synge, O' Casey, Beckett and Heaney, the prestige of literary 'Hiberno-English' is so high that it needs an effort of historical reconstruction to understand Stephen's dismay, which was clearly not shared by the mature Joyce. Yet the latter's mockery of the tendency of Irish writers to find their name and fame as 'court jester to the English' still has its sting (*OCPW* 149). He was not willing to follow in the footsteps of Sheridan, Goldsmith, Wilde and Shaw. Nor would he try to emulate the Anglo-Irish Yeats, whose childhood had made him as much at home in London as in Dublin or Sligo. In Yeats the Irish Revival had indisputably produced a poet and dramatist of major talent, yet Yeats' Dublin and Joyce's city had rather little in common.

It would be wrong, however, to suggest that the main cause of Stephen's, and Joyce's, hostility to English literature was provincial and colonial resentment. On the contrary, Joyce keenly felt that at the end of Queen Victoria's reign England, and not merely British Ireland, had become a byword for provincialism and cultural mediocrity. For anyone with pretensions to be avant-garde it was necessary to look beyond England to French symbolist poetry and naturalistic fiction, European drama and the achievements of the great Russian novelists. The only contemporary English author of fiction whom the young Joyce took at all seriously seems to have been Kipling, of whom he wrote that 'If I knew Ireland as well as R. K. seems to know India I fancy I could write something good' (*SL* 142). Stanislaus found his condemnations too harsh and tried, for example, to interest him in the novels of Henry James; but Joyce remained dismissive even though James, together with George Moore and Arnold Bennett, was one of the chief advocates of French realist and naturalist techniques.

Joyce had been an omnivorous reader of French literature since his Belvedere College days, and Stanislaus also detected the influence of Turgenev and Tolstoy on *Dubliners* (*SL* 73). The prose of Joyce's stories with its 'scrupulous meanness' is in sharp contrast to the floweriness of the Victorian stylists such as Ruskin whom he had studied at school. The stories usually begin with a plain and offhand statement of intent, and in one instance ('Grace') the opening is deliberately sordid: 'Two gentlemen who were in the lavatory at the time tried to lift him up: but he was quite helpless' (*D* 149). Only in a very few cases (notably, 'The Dead') do they culminate in a burst of self-conscious 'purple' prose worthy of Ruskin or Walter Pater. Later, in *A Portrait* and *Ulysses*, Joyce would write dialogue marked with French dashes rather than inverted commas, offering a stark visual reminder of his difference from his English contemporaries.

Joyce initially made his name as a champion not of French or Russian fiction but of Ibsen's drama. Ibsen, who had spent almost thirty years in exile from his native Norway, was no youthful Romantic rebel like Byron and Shelley. His long life was devoted to transforming the theatre and purging it of the bourgeois sentimentalism that remained entrenched on the London and Dublin stage. Bernard Shaw had celebrated the radical Ibsen in *The Quintessence of Ibsenism* (1891), and in *Stephen Hero* Joyce presents Ibsen's realism as the antithesis of Dickens' tears over the death of Little Nell. The remnants of Victorian prudery irritated him more and more as he wrote the stories of *Dubliners* and found himself obliged to defend them against a series of bumbling, if well-meant, attempts at censorship on the part of Grant Richards, his London publisher. Responding to Thomas Hardy's story of rural seduction 'On the Western Circuit' in 1906, he expostulated that 'What is wrong with these English writers is that they always keep beating about the bush' (*SL* 137). A few weeks earlier, he had told Stanislaus that he had 'little or nothing to learn from English novelists' (*SL* 124). In a letter to Richards he dismissed modern English literature as 'the laughing-stock of Europe', though the gibe was succeeded by a shrewd forecast: 'I suspect that it will follow the other countries of Europe as it did in Chaucer's time' (*SL* 83). As his reference to 'Chaucer's time' reveals, Joyce was at ease with a broad range of literary history long before he set out to parody the development of English prose from the Anglo-Saxons to the present in the 'Oxen of the Sun' episode of *Ulysses*. He had studied English, French and Latin literatures at Belvedere College, where his English set books at various times included Charles Lamb's *Adventures of Ulysses*, Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*. Subsequently he became one of the first generation of writers formally to study English literature (as opposed to the classics) at university. Throughout this time he excelled at writing English essays. As a teenager he twice won a national prize for the best Intermediate English composition, and his devotion to essay-writing continued at university where his English professor was Tom Arnold, the brother of the poet and critic Matthew Arnold. Joyce's course at University College, Dublin led towards a general degree, as is evident from the scene in *A Portrait* set in a physics class, but it also involved some specialisation. His cosmopolitan instincts led him to specialise in Italian and French, not in English or Gaelic literature.

The conventional, 'safe' literary opinion of his time is set out in a scene at the National Library in *Stephen Hero*, where Glynn, a fellow student, speaks in an appropriately gushing manner about 'what beautiful poetry Byron and Shelley and Wordsworth and Coleridge and Keats and Tennyson wrote,

and ... that Ruskin and Newman and Carlyle and Macaulay were the greatest modern English prose stylists' (SH 153). Joyce found such indiscriminating approval laughable, though all of these writers except Wordsworth were represented in the library of books he owned in Trieste. In fact, Glynn's recommendations cover only a small proportion of the nineteenth-century English writers alluded to in Joyce's fiction. On the negative side, the readers at the National Library include a retired sea-captain who opines that 'there is no writer who can touch sir Walter Scott' (P 247); this view defines him as one of the old fogeys of Joyce's world. Gabriel Conroy's admiration in 'The Dead' for the 'thought-tormented music' of Robert Browning is another, less blatant, sign of old-fogeyism. By contrast, Joyce's allusions to the poetry of Algernon Swinburne in *Ulysses* are distinctly positive, though it is Buck Mulligan rather than Stephen who refers to him familiarly as 'Algy' (U 1.77). And Stephen, as Mulligan detects, pays Swinburne's contemporary George Meredith the ultimate compliment of plagiarism when he sends Mulligan a sardonically witty telegram: 'The sentimentalist is he who would enjoy without incurring the immense debtorship for a thing done' (U 9.550-1).

The source of Stephen's epigram, Meredith's *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* (1859), has been cited as a stylistic model for the rhapsodic 'epiphany' on Dollymount beach at the end of chapter 4 of *A Portrait*. Joyce certainly discussed Meredith's novel with his brother, and in 1902 he reviewed Walter Jerrold's study of its author for the *Daily Express*. Nevertheless, the prose writer who is a conscious presence for Stephen on Dollymount strand is not Meredith but John Henry Newman, whose 'proud cadence' he recites: 'Whose feet are as the feet of harts and underneath the everlasting arms' (P 179). Later, Stephen is shown relishing the 'cloistral silverveined prose of Newman' (P 190). Since the source of the 'proud cadence' is Newman's *The Idea of a University* (1873), it serves as a fitting symbol for Stephen's divided mind at the point where he has just abandoned the priesthood in order to go to university. He reflects on the 'dignity of the office he [has] refused' (P 179) without acknowledging that he is, in some sense, reversing Newman's trajectory from Oxford University and its intellectual ferment towards high office in the Catholic Church.

Stephen's admiration for Newman, unlike his admirations for Ibsen and the radical English Romantics, would surely have been approved by his Jesuit masters both at Belvedere and at University College, where after his conversion Newman had served as rector for four years. Yet Stephen's sense of Newman's prose is wholly aesthetic and bears no relation to its ideological and theological content. Indeed, that content might as well not exist.

When Stephen is depicted as dipping into his word-hoard and drawing forth 'a phrase from his treasure' (*P* 180), he is searching for a realm of beauty that is ideology-free, a realm of language for language's sake. As a lyrical artist in prose and verse, the young Joyce could present himself as equally a disciple of Saint Thomas Aquinas and Ibsen, of Cardinal Newman and the atheist Shelley.

Stephen's passionate interest in what he calls the 'dainty songs of the Elizabethans', and the 'age of Dowland and Byrd and Nashe' (*P* 190, 253), is further evidence of this yearning for an ideology-free realm of literary language. It also had a practical side, since Joyce performed the songs at private parties and thought of pursuing a career as a singer. He ordered a modern collection of *Twelve Elizabethan Songs* set to music, and thought about having a lute made. His taste for Elizabethan and Jacobean lyrics was shared, as J. C. C. Mays has noted, by the 'tragic generation' of 1890s poets with whom Yeats had associated in the Rhymers' Club (*PE* xxiii). This was the minor-key, lyrical Joyce of *Chamber Music* and *Giacomo Joyce*. At the same time, as an aspiring writer of realist fiction he set out to assimilate not just the refined diction of the love-lyrics but the argot of Elizabethan and Jacobean low life, as reflected for example in the 'Proteus' episode of *Ulysses*. The knowledge of Romany and thieves' cant that Stephen displays in this episode has been traced to Richard Head's *The Canting Academy* (1673), though it also owes something to Ben Jonson's works (which Joyce read in Paris as a young man), and perhaps even to the despised historical romances of Walter Scott.

STRATFORD AND LONDON: DUBLIN AND PARIS

One inescapable aspect of Elizabethan literature was that in it all roads led to London, the political and financial capital, the centre of court patronage and the home of the theatre and its audience. The necessary career-path for any aspiring poet or dramatist involved a journey to London, a journey that began with a sundering of ties to a native region or birthplace. For the most part, English writers before the Romantic period welcomed this sundering as natural and inevitable: what person of spirit would not wish to leave their native place behind? Joyce, however, came after the Romantic poets who found that it was possible to enjoy literary success despite wandering in exile like Byron, or returning to their native hills like Wordsworth. The themes of literary exile and the exile's return became poetical commonplaces, yet nobody before Joyce had depicted exile as being quite so integral to the writer's psychodrama as it is in *A Portrait* and *Ulysses*. In the latter work,

Stephen Dedalus' theory of *Hamlet* fathers on Shakespeare what is essentially Joyce's own trauma of loss and desertion. Indeed, Stephen makes an explicit parallel with his own life when he observes that 'Elizabethan London lay as far from Stratford as corrupt Paris lies from virgin Dublin' (U 9.149-50).

Two questions are raised by this, the exile's banishment and his chosen destination. Little was known about Shakespeare's personal life – though much could be fantasised – but few writers before Joyce had been much troubled by the emotional repercussions of his departure from Stratford. At the end of his life, after all, he retired from the stage and went back there to live in comfort. Joyce imagines Shakespeare in London as being riddled with remorse, distrust and the fear of betrayal, culminating in Stephen's observation that 'The note of banishment, banishment from the heart, banishment from home, sounds uninterruptedly from *Two Gentlemen of Verona* onward till Prospero breaks his staff, buries it certain fathoms in the earth and drowns his book' (U 9.999-1002). Whether or not this bears any relationship to the historical Shakespeare, it certainly expresses what Stephen and Joyce wanted and needed to feel about Dublin.

The 'Scylla and Charybdis' chapter of *Ulysses* is based on intensive reading in nineteenth-century Shakespearean criticism and scholarship, much of which was represented in Joyce's library. One of the critics he studied was Coleridge, who had contrasted the 'protean' Shakespeare, who 'darts himself forth, and passes into all forms of human character and passion', with the singlemindedness of the epic poet such as Milton, who drew all things to himself, 'into the unity of his own ideal'.⁴ The same contrast may be observed among novelists, between Dickens, for example, with his astonishing variety of plots, characters, gestures and incidents, and Joyce whose linguistic richness concentrates the whole history of Ireland and the world within the covers of two monolithic verbal edifices, *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*. Joyce is a Miltonic rather than a Shakespearean artist – and not only in his near-blindness. Yet Shakespeare became an obsession while he felt little interest in Milton.

There are no significant allusions to *Paradise Lost* in *Ulysses*, although some lines from 'Lycidas' are quoted in full in the 'Nestor' episode since they appear in the schoolbook Stephen's pupils are studying. 'Lycidas' at the beginning of the twentieth century was a compulsory English classic throughout the British Empire; moreover, Milton is exactly the poet we should expect to find on the curriculum of the Protestant Mr Deasy's school. This is a reminder that Joyce, in general, had little time for the orthodox Protestant strain in English literature, from Spenser through

Milton to Wordsworth. Asked by Cranly if he intends to become a Protestant, Stephen replies that he has lost his faith but not his 'selfrespect' (P 265). Joyce owned a copy of *The Pilgrim's Progress* and briefly parodied it in *Ulysses*; and in his lecture on Defoe he saw Robinson Crusoe as personifying the English Puritan temperament. He was fascinated by Blake's visionary heresies, and he certainly felt no philosophical or temperamental barriers to an appreciation of Shakespeare, who stands in *Ulysses* beside Homer as the supreme artist. (It may not be accidental that Father Butt in *Stephen Hero* introduces his students to the idea that Shakespeare was a closet Catholic, an idea that is still current in modern scholarly debate although it remains conspicuously unproven.)

Shakespeare, in Stephen's eyes, displays the 'myriad-mindedness', the potency, the resourcefulness, but also the obstinate deviousness and jealous secrecy of the true artist. The secret of *Hamlet*, therefore, has supposedly remained unknown until Stephen Dedalus sets out to decode it. This means not only that the move from Stratford to London was a form of banishment, but that it was conducted under something very like Stephen's own artistic slogan of 'silence, exile, and cunning' (P 269). It was, Stephen implies, closer to his own journey to Paris than to the traditional Irish writer's migration to the English metropolis. Sheridan, Goldsmith, Wilde and Shaw may have been exiles in London, but they were hardly silent; indeed, Irish exiles were notoriously loquacious. 'Silence, exile, and cunning' expresses not just Joyce's rejection of Irish Catholicism and provincialism, but also of the Irish contribution to Britain and British culture, including the strong sense of affinity that so many Irish writers had felt for the English literary scene.

In his early teens, Joyce had spent the money he received for one of his essay prizes on a trip to London for himself and his family. For some thirty years after that he visited London as little as possible. Paris was now the unchallenged artistic capital of Europe, although for writers like Henry James and George Moore it had been little more than a staging-post, their ultimate destination being residence in or near London. After his somewhat abortive year in Paris, Joyce left Dublin with Nora Barnacle in 1904 to work as a language teacher in Trieste and elsewhere. Just over a quarter of a century later they set up home in London for six months, during which their marriage took place under English law. Whether – had circumstances been otherwise – they might have gone to London earlier, or stayed longer, is doubtless an idle speculation. Before the First World War Joyce supported himself and his family by teaching English as a second language, a profession that might have been difficult to follow in London for a young

man with a marked Dublin accent. Soon after the war he became a banned writer – though not one without influential supporters – throughout the English-speaking world.

Joyce's failed attempt to settle in England in the early 1930s is, of course, much less significant than his steadfast refusal to visit the newly independent Ireland. It seems highly unlikely that when he left Dublin in 1904 he could have envisaged that the rest of his life would be spent in exile in 'Trieste–Zurich–Paris'. Very probably he may have dreamed of a triumphant re-entry into Ireland as a world-famous writer, along the lines of Ibsen's return to Norway or, for that matter, of Shakespeare's return to Stratford, but it was not to be.

FINNEGANS WAKE: GULLIVER IN LILLIPUT

In *Ulysses* 'Scylla and Charybdis' takes its place beside a second literary-historical episode, 'The Oxen of the Sun', in which the development of English prose parallels the growth of the foetus in the womb. Here Joyce's loose parodies of a long series of historical prose styles suggest that those styles form a continuous literary tradition, although they are taken from very diverse contexts ranging from the devotional through the familiar to the crudely demotic. This supposed continuity is not entirely Joyce's invention, since he is known to have leaned heavily on the chronologically arranged selections in two standard anthologies, George Saintsbury's *History of English Prose Rhythm* and W. Peacock's *English Prose from Mandeville to Ruskin*. Unlike these anthologies, however, his parodies both merge into one another and follow an unbroken narrative line as they recount an increasingly drunken evening involving Stephen, Bloom and a bunch of medical students. It is tempting to wonder if not only the history of English prose but the history of the novel might be foregrounded in this episode, although this is almost certainly misleading. It is true that novelists such as Smollett, Sterne, Goldsmith and Dickens are among the writers parodied, and that Joyce had novels by each of these writers, and also by Defoe, Fielding, Thackeray and others, on his shelves. Although he is likely to have consulted them while writing this episode, any general sense of his indebtedness to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English fiction remains elusive. There was only one great English prose writer to whose achievements Joyce in his later work was openly and consistently drawn, and this – in *Finnegans Wake* rather than *Ulysses*, though he does appear in 'The Oxen of the Sun' – was Jonathan Swift.

Finnegans Wake, it has sometimes been suggested, carries on from where the prose parodies in 'Oxen' left off. Others have gone so far as to view

Joyce's last work as an ultimate act of deconstructive revenge against the English novel and the English language. If the parallel between his artistic career and Milton's is admitted, then *Finnegans Wake* is the Irish writer's *Samson Agonistes*, a magnificent but futile work which stands at the end rather than the beginning of a tradition. The *Wake* is a forbidding and, for many, an almost unreadable work of narrative fiction, while *Samson* is an impeccable classical verse drama which cannot be successfully staged. The climax of the story – the Biblical Holocaust in which Samson pulls down the temple to destroy both himself and the Philistines – is tamely recounted to the audience rather than being directly enacted. The Joyce of the *Wake*, too, has sometimes been portrayed as a kind of literary and linguistic suicide bomber, a writer bending and breaking apart the very units of common language on which communication depends. A less apocalyptic view of the *Wake* is both desirable and possible, however. With its orgy of wordplay and paronomasia, Joyce had confirmed his place in the Anglo-Irish tradition of learned wits (a development already inherent in the later parts of *Ulysses*), even if he remained determined not to become a court jester to the English. It is fitting that it is in the *Wake*, rather than earlier, that his devotion to Swift comes to the fore.

Joyce's notion of Leopold Bloom as the modern Ulysses is not satirical or even, in the eighteenth-century sense of the term, mock-heroic. Bloom is an admirable, not a ludicrously inflated figure, precisely because Joyce is at such pains to establish his reality as a literary character. He is more Robinson Crusoe than Gulliver, his Jewishness being for Joyce an acceptable substitute for Crusoe's superstitious Protestantism. By contrast, *Finnegans Wake* is grandly satirical in a way that none of Joyce's earlier writings had been, though we catch a glimpse of Swift in squibs such as 'The Holy Office' and 'Gas from a Burner'. In the *Wake* HCE and ALP, the archetypal father and mother, are giants whose human proportions remain as indistinct as Gulliver's were to the people of Lilliput. James S. Atherton has pointed out that *Gulliver's Travels* appears in the text as 'gullible's travels' (FW 173.3) and '*Gorotsky Gollovar's Troubles*' (294.18), while there is a possible reference to *A Tale of a Tub* on the very first page, in the middle of a sentence alluding to Swift's two women friends Stella and Vanessa (both of whom were, in fact, named Esther) as the 'sosie sesthers' (3.12).⁵ In writing the *Wake* Joyce immersed himself as deeply in Swift's life and works as he had done with Shakespeare in *Ulysses*. In Harry Levin's words, the two writers have in common 'a controlled style and an uncontrollable imagination, a disposition to take trifles seriously and to trifle with serious things'.⁶ Indeed, *Finnegans Wake* alludes constantly to what had come to be seen as the most trivial and

ephemeral aspects of Swift's writings, such as the 'little language' of the *Journal to Stella* and his interventions in Irish politics. Joyce incorporates these 'trifles' into a monumental work which is as hard to place in relation to the genre of the novel as are *A Tale of a Tub* and *Gulliver's Travels*.

These borrowings from Swift – almost a species of literary ventriloquism – form a fitting conclusion to Joyce's ambivalent, sometimes hostile, and yet remarkably intense and intimate engagement with certain aspects of English literature. His engagement was, first and last, a writer's engagement, not that of a literary student. Even as a young man, as his brother tells us, Joyce's reading was never chosen for purely cultural reasons. The intensity and idiosyncrasy of his sense of literary tradition follows from his determination that his own art should always be sovereign.

NOTES

1. See for example A. Norman Jeffares, 'Joyce's Precursors', in Augustine Martin, ed., *James Joyce: The Artist and the Labyrinth* (London: Ryan, 1990), pp. 261–91.
2. See Richard Brown, 'Joyce's Englishman', in Andrew Gibson and Len Platt, eds., *Joyce, Ireland, Britain* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), pp. 37–9, for discussion of these lectures.
3. Colbert Kearney, 'Stephen's Green', in Martin, ed., *James Joyce*, p. 117.
4. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, ed. George Watson, Everyman's Library edn (London: Dent, and New York: Dutton, 1965), p. 180.
5. James S. Atherton, *The Books at the Wake: A Study of Literary Allusions in James Joyce's 'Finnegans Wake'* (London: Faber & Faber, 1959), pp. 118, 120.
6. Harry Levin, *James Joyce* (London: Faber & Faber, 1954), p. 141.

CHAPTER 19

Paris

Jean-Michel Rabaté

Close to the end of the 'Circe' episode, at a moment when Stephen Dedalus has taken over the parodic energy and the infectious mimicry previously reserved for Buck Mulligan, he impersonates a French barker who attracts customers to a sex-shop like those of Pigalle:

Stephen

(gabbles with marionette jerks) Thousand places of entertainment to expense your evenings with lovely ladies saling gloves and other things perhaps hers heart beer-chops perfect fashionable house very eccentric where lots cocottes beautiful dressed much about princesses like are dancing cancan and walking there parisian clowneries extra foolish for bachelors foreigners the same if talking a poor english how much smart they are on things love and sensations voluptuous. Mistery very selects for is pleasure must to visit heaven and hell show with mortuary candles and they tears silver which occur every night. Perfectly shocking terrific of religion's things mockery seen in universal world. All chic womans which arrive full of modesty then disrobe and squeal loud to see vampire man debauch nun very fresh young with *dessous troublants*. *(he clacks his tongue loudly)* Ho, là là! *Ce pif qu'il a!* (U15. 3881–94)

Indeed, the promise of a 'great success of laughing' (U15. 3000–1) has been kept for *Ulysses* at least, even if it has meant that for more than half a century the novel was considered as all too 'French' and therefore a pernicious influence on (among others) Irish readers. This changed some twenty years ago, when Joyce's face suddenly adorned the Irish ten-pound note, but I still remember heated discussions with a certain Mrs Murphy who owned a Bed and Breakfast in which I had reserved a room during the 1982 James Joyce symposium in Dublin. Mrs Murphy held fast to her belief that Joyce's works were dirty, obscene and dangerous; they were full of personal slander and replete with religious blasphemy. This was why she, as long she lived, would avoid James Joyce 'and all his women' – by which she was echoing the title of Fionnula Flanagan's play then showing in Dublin.

Since I could not prove her totally wrong on the issue of blasphemy (how could one forget that Paul Claudel had once written to Adrienne Monnier

that Joyce's work was 'full of the most foul blasphemy, blasphemy in which one sensed all the hatred of the renegade?')¹ I tried to argue that *Ulysses* was a literary masterpiece and a very serious book at that. Then she would silence me with: 'But you, of course, will take to it: you're French!' By extension, the French category would have included Americans, especially literary tourists who believed that they would understand the novel better by retracing Bloom's steps on the Dublin map and who would flabbergast the locals by asking street directions to reach a mythical 'Nighttown'. Besides, had not Stephen's histrionic 'French' anticipated one of the most notoriously bawdy scenes in Philip Roth's *Portnoy's Complaint*? This occurs when Stephen rephrases an earlier joke about *Hamlet*, a hero with whom he identifies in part, like him an 'absentminded beggar,' by providing his own, rather idiomatic translation of Mallarmé's conceit of '*Hamlet ou le Distrait*' (*U* 9.118–25). Here is Stephen's Pyrrhic shaft: 'Enter, gentleman, to see in mirror every positions trapezes all that machine there besides also if desire act awfully bestial butcher's boy pollutes in warm veal liver or omlet on the belly *pièce de Shakespeare*' (*U* 15.3907–9). A '*double entente cordiale*' (*U* 15.3915) has been enacted with punning vengeance by Stephen so as to unite the French with the Irish and not the British, since the latter must read in *Hamlet* a foreshadowing of mass slaughters to come, according to Stephen's pointed and political analysis in the library.

My main contention here is that Joyce decided to be 'French' not because he loved the banks of the Seine or the taste of croissants, but because post-war France was the only country in which he could publish *Ulysses* without being prosecuted for indecency while eliciting the help of influential, enlightened and well-connected supporters. It is no surprise to see the French novelist Gide, not a stranger to sexual or political scandal himself, note wryly that 'without the obscenity of his *Ulysses*, Joyce couldn't have reckoned on more than a hundred readers'.² By this, Gide did not mean to be dismissive; quite the contrary, he frankly confessed to his unashamed 'delight': 'In everything human there is an obscene side with divine façade. To tell you the truth Joyce's shamelessness delights me.'³ His 1942 article on Joyce for *Le Figaro* is an ambivalent document in which Gide divides himself between a 'He', quite critical of Joyce, and an 'I' who appreciates him and endorses even his regressive punning and pedantic polyglottism. He situates Joyce next to Jean Paulhan's influential *Les fleurs de Tarbes* (1941), a long essay on 'terror in literature' warning that linguistic expression was never really true, as it was contaminated by rhetoric. However, one should praise writers who 'tear up cloaks and appearances'⁴ by unveiling the rhetorical function of language. Paulhan had alluded to Joyce and Proust as

two 'bergsonian' authors who destroy a 'conventional self' woven by habit and intelligence. Joyce's main strength would lie in his having refused to be trapped by linguistic and literary conventions.

The forceful yoking of Joyce and Proust has been a staple of French criticism, since no one could overlook the coincidence of Proust's death and the publication of *Ulysses* in France. Proust was one of the rare contemporary French novelists (Gide was the other) for whom Joyce expressed genuine admiration. As he told Arthur Power, 'he is the best of the modern French writers, and certainly no one has taken modern psychology so far, or to such a fine point'.⁵ Among the many evocations of their unique meeting, no one reaches the degree of bland rehearsing of clichés that one finds in Alain de Botton's *How Proust can change your life*.⁶ Believing that Joyce and Proust had only exchanged Nos, de Botton recreates a possible dialogue only to conclude that conversation fails to lead to a work of art. More reliable witnesses insist, on the contrary, on some sort of exchange: Gilbert quotes Ford Madox Ford, who tells how an initial silence (neither of the writers had read the other's work) was followed by an animated conversation which continued until dawn after the topic shifted to pain, disease and doctors.⁷ Arthur Power's testimony is different, and comes directly from Joyce: 'I met him [Proust] once at a literary dinner and when we were introduced all he said to me was: "Do you like truffles?" "Yes", I replied, "I am very fond of truffles." And that was the only conversation.'⁸ Were these mere trifles? No, since this reveals a common interest in issues of taste and health. And by the time he tried to convince Power to read Proust, Joyce had done his homework, mixing pedantic precision (as when he claims that one passage of *Les plaisirs et les jours* is better than the *summa* of *La recherche*, faulted for its 'over-elaboration'⁹) and generosity in the global assessment: in the end, Proust's 'innovations were necessary to express modern life as he saw it'. His style was entirely adequate to 'convey the almost imperceptible but relentless erosion of time which, as I say, is the motive of his work'.¹⁰

For Joyce as for Proust, the struggle against stylistic complacency could also appear as a fight against normalcy. Yet, if Joyce was often perceived, for better or worse, as a revolutionary in Paris, he certainly had contemporaries who were considered more shocking. Thus, if we focus on 1922 only, the year when *Ulysses* was finally published thanks to the efforts of Sylvia Beach and Adrienne Monnier,¹¹ the French literary scene was marked by two 'scandals'. First came the publication of Victor Margueritte's *La garçonne*, a novel about a 'flapper' who chooses systematic sexual promiscuity. Even if the ending is moralistic, the public was outraged and the novel caused

Margueritte to lose the Légion d'Honneur. This incident was followed, in 1922, in a more subdued fashion, by Proust's *Sodome et Gomorrhe*. Already in 1919, his Prix Goncourt had been deemed by some nationalist critics an insult to war patriots, and this book, with its sustained analysis of the 'race of the invert', a 'curse' from which no character of *La recherche* is immune, caused scandal despite Proust's death before its publication. By comparison, Joyce's audacities seem relatively tame. Moreover it would take seven more years to have a French translation of *Ulysses*, and by that time no one would admit to being shocked by the book's sexual or physiological explicitness.

Thus, in keeping with the 16 June 1904 date chosen by Joyce as a strict temporal framework, what we perceive of Paris in *Ulysses* looks more like the late nineteenth-century 'gay Paree' (*U* 3.249) than the post-war capital in which Joyce had taken refuge to complete his novel. Paris appears in a few fleeting vignettes or clichés; it looms in and out as a rather disquieting stage perceived by the eyes of a foreign and somewhat alienated student. It has more in common with the London of exiled Communards, the refuge of doomed lovers, like Verlaine and Rimbaud in 1871, than, say, with Proust's Paris. Stephen's Paris is a city in which fellow expatriates like Kevin Egan find a 'lair' in the cheapest parts of Montmartre, the Rue de la Goutte d'Or area, then still graced with lots of bars if not vineyards, a racy city still full of the memories of Zola's taverns, such as '*l'Assommoir*' with its attendant cohort of prostitutes or pimps. Further south, Egan's estranged wife lived in the rundown and medieval maze near Rue Gît-le-Cœur, later the haunt of American beatniks on the run. The 1903 Paris, briefly glimpsed by a young Joyce who was more intent on reading Ben Jonson and Aristotle under the flickering gas lamps of the Sainte-Geneviève Library 'sheltered from the sin of Paris, night by night' (*U* 2.70), was still a *fin-de-siècle* capital. It was a city in which gossip was rife and rumour raged about the scandalous death of the French president Félix Faure, who had, in 1899, suddenly passed away in the arms, or so the story went, of a professional. The waves created by the Dreyfus affair had also yet to abate. Egan quotes with relish the description of Queen Victoria as a *Vieille ogresse aux dents jaunes* (cf. *U* 3.231) penned by the rabidly anti-Semitic journalist Edouard Drumont, who was in the habit of denigrating the British queen in vitriolic articles churned out by a curiously named *La libre parole*, just because she was portrayed as a staunch *Dreyfusarde*.

It was not to Parisian libraries that Joyce owed the discovery of another Edouard, Dujardin this time, but to George Moore's personal network of symbolist sympathisers. Following Moore's tip, as Joyce was departing for a

day trip to Tours, he picked up in the *gare d'Orléans* book kiosk Dujardin's *Les lauriers sont coupés*, a Wagnerian experimental novel entirely written in the form of a character's interior monologue. In the Spring of 1903, the book was hardly a novelty since it had been serialised in 1887 in *La revue indépendante*, then issued in book form the following year. Joyce would later parade Dujardin's novel, stressing its impact on him with such intensity that all suspected that he wished to hide more important debts. In fact, Joyce dutifully inscribed a copy of *Ulysses* with what looks like sincere gratitude, writing: 'A Edouard Dujardin, annonciateur de la parole intérieure. Le larron impénitent, James Joyce.'¹² From all this, Dujardin becomes a John the Baptist figure, a prophet in the wilderness, announcing a Joyce, who, for once, would not play the role of Christ, but would content himself with being one of the two thieves (*larron* is only used in the Biblical sense) on the cross in a 'cruefiction' yet to come. As Beckett would have asked, was Joyce the saved or the damned thief?

I have tried to show elsewhere that it was above all because *Les lauriers sont coupés* stands out for posterity as a stylistic failure, or, at any rate, as an 'interesting' but abortive literary initiative, that it could prove to be so productive for Joyce.¹³ Dujardin, who inspired Joyce's explorations in 1903, was 'rediscovered' by him at the time of the publication of *Ulysses*, after which Dujardin became a staunch supporter of Joyce while systematising the notion of the 'interior monologue' as a literary form. This was in 1931, when Dujardin published his fine book on the new genre, which Joyce preferred to call 'inner speech', thus spawning a widespread French misconception, namely that Joyce wrote his novels entirely by using the mode of a 'stream of consciousness technique', a Franco-Irish concoction. In fact, Dujardin outlived these fashions (and Joyce himself, by eight years, since he died only in 1949), spanning the gap between Joyce and Mallarmé (with whom he was always close, despite having asked and been refused his daughter's hand in marriage). Dujardin was on good terms with many of Joyce's group (once, in March 1931, he famously disrupted a reading of 'Anna Livia Plurabelle' at Adrienne Monnier's bookshop by slapping McAlmon across the face because he had mistaken McAlmon's gesture of mock awe towards Joyce as a sign of horror at his own wife's thick ankles (*JJ* II 637))! Dujardin's exemplary longevity made visible the link between Wagnerian late symbolism and the international avant-garde of the *transition* group gathered around Jolas and Joyce in the thirties.

Thus in the summer of 1920, when Joyce definitively abandoned Trieste for Paris, it was less a discovery trip than an exile's return to a previous shelter. A return to a notably changed city, to be sure, not only because of

the long war and the ensuing explosion of *joie de vivre*, but because most of the artistic battles had already been fought and won.¹⁴ Picasso's 'Demoiselles d'Avignon', Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring*, cubism, unanimism, orphism and dadaism had happened before and during the war. For the French, 1920 saw a general return to classicism – until the Surrealists struck with renewed passion. As for Joyce, he had decided to remain impervious to the seductions of the historical avant-gardes with their group orthodoxies of subversion, since at first he did not even plan to stay long in the *ville-lumière*, just long enough to finish *Ulysses* and get it published. As he said to his Irish friend Power, a Romantic enthusiast who immediately took into his stride the easy life of artistic studios, bohemian cafés and popular dance halls, Joyce found Paris a merely 'convenient' city and not necessarily a literary or cultural paradise. This is why he chose to ignore most of its famed cultural attractions:

The surrounding French life with all its brilliance and attraction seemed to pass over him, and fed his talent only so far as he appreciated its intellectual freedom and its 'convenience' as he termed it. All he would say about Paris, when anyone asked his opinion about it, was that 'it is a very convenient city', though what he meant by this phrase I was never able to discover.¹⁵

Arthur Power is a useful witness because he is exceedingly naïve, and one learns a lot from Joyce's patient, pedagogical dismissal of his friend's Romantic enthusiasms coupled with his efforts to introduce him to a modernism that was also a 'new medievalism' – the arches of Notre-Dame providing the best emblem for *Ulysses*.

The several senses of 'convenience' applied to Paris can be summed up in a single word, 'Commerce'. It was the word used by Adrienne Monnier's friends in 1924 when they launched a new review whose first issue carried a French translation of parts of *Ulysses* that included sections from 'Telemachus,' 'Ithaca' and 'Penelope'. The title of 'Commerce' took its cue from a line in Saint John Perse's *Anabasis*, 'the pure commerce of my soul', which means that it refers to spiritual exchanges above all, which do not exclude other types of commerce with the flesh or money.¹⁶ Joyce, just like Monnier, knew that literary fame is inseparable from good accounting and efficient networking. As he would repeat to all the literary figures he met in Paris in 1920, the novelty of his new novel was that he had depicted Odysseus as a Jew. Joyce provides a strikingly prescient evocation of Jewish stockbrokers in Paris, characters who, like Charles Swann, people Proust's huge chronicle:

On the steps of the Paris stock exchange the goldskinned men quoting prices on their gemmed fingers. Gabble of geese. They swarmed loud, uncouth, about the

temple, their heads thickplotting under maladroït silk hats. Not theirs: these clothes, this speech, these gestures. Their full slow eyes belied the words, the gestures eager and unoffending, but knew the rancours massed about them and knew their zeal was vain. Vain patience to heap and hoard. Time would surely scatter all. (*U* 2. 364–70)

Against Suarès' belief that this betrayed his deep anti-Semitism,¹⁷ on the contrary, the passage reveals Joyce's deep empathy and even his political worry that intolerance would prevail in France. Joyce's main mistake, as Commerce went, was to take Sylvia Beach's cash register for his own bank ('the Left Bank' as she would quip), mistaking Odeonia for *sa Bourse*.

Indeed, one of the prime conveniences afforded by Paris consisted in the unquestioning devotion of his many woman friends. Here I will recall Mrs Murphy and her 1982 strictures: alluding to 'Joyce's women', she was in fact quoting the exact title of Fionnula Flanagan's one-woman show (that was made into a film in 1983). By this plural, the Irish actress indicated serial stage impersonations: she became in turn Nora Joyce, Gerty MacDowell, Harriet Shaw Weaver, a Washerwoman and Molly Bloom. If she had added Adrienne Monnier and Sylvia Beach to her repertoire, she would have encompassed the group of tutelary goddesses that kept watch over Joyce during all these years. Indeed, in retrospect, it is surprising to see how poorly Joyce fared with men in Paris (most *literati* looked down on his cheap clothes, his pedantic narcissism, his habit of bawling Italian arias while strumming on the piano and generally his lack of distinction or social grace¹⁸) whereas he managed to seduce most of the literary women with whom he came in contact.¹⁹ And the few durable friendships among male critics or translators he owed entirely to the untiring efforts of either Sylvia Beach or Adrienne Monnier – thus it was with Valéry Larbaud, Léon-Paul Fargue, Philippe Soupault, André Gide, Paul Valéry, Saint John Perse and Louis Gillet among the French, and with Stuart Gilbert, Robert McAlmon and Thomas McGreevy among the Anglophones. It was only in the late twenties that Joyce started making male friends or disciples with people like Samuel Beckett or Eugène Jolas.

If Joyce planned to move later to London in 1931, this was consistent with his having kept a British passport, and his late marriage with Nora in England in July 1931. Joyce, who liked to divide his life in so many decades, could well have ended his stay in France then. It seems that it was more Nora's wish that they leave Paris, as she had grown tired of their bohemian friends there (see *JJ* II 639). However, the new 'hegira' (*JJ* II 637) began badly: the belated marriage upset what remained of Lucia's mental balance,

and after the death of Joyce's father a little later, it was Joyce himself who at times began to sound psychotic.

His final decision to stay in Paris was partly based on Lucia's deteriorating condition, which necessitated constant medical care (he never missed the Sunday afternoon visit to the Ivry clinic in the thirties) and partly on an awareness that, after all, he had found a haven every bit as safe and friendly as Trieste had been, but also a hub of culture in which critics and writers would look up to him respectfully. As we saw, this process had first been triggered by the initial enthusiasm of Ezra Pound, then of Adrienne Monnier and Sylvia Beach, Valéry Larbaud and Louis Gillet; the thirties saw a realignment of friendships and allegiances, with the cooling of the link with Monnier and Beach offset by the total devotion of Eugène and Maria Jolas, Paul Léon and the *transition* group. One might say that at this point, Joyce had managed to become a 'Parisian' in so far as he embodied the city's cosmopolitanism.

For Eugène Jolas, it was clear that *Ulysses* had marked the 'end of the novel', and even if it should be hailed as a masterpiece what counted was to continue the exploration by other means. As he proclaimed in *transition* no. 18 (November 1929): 'The Novel is dead: Long live the novel!' By the end of the twenties, Joyce had been turned into a pioneer of the avant-garde, launching a new mode of verbal experimentation, so as to create a 'new language' and a new 'mythos'. Jolas' editorial in *transition* no. 15 takes stock of the global crisis in values, economic and spiritual, that followed the Crash of 1929. He and his friends cannot identify with any of the programmes of the other avant-gardes: surrealism is groping toward the Spirit while proletarian art apes bourgeois philistinism. The new fascism in Italy has perverted the Nietzschean inversion of values. Jolas wants a revolution, but it will have to be a revolution of the word: 'The new vocabulary and the new syntax must help destroy the ideology of a rotting civilization.'²⁰ Here was the foundation of a Parisian avant-gardism that would last until *Tel Quel* in the sixties and seventies. Anticipating Sollers by a few decades, Jolas takes Joyce as the model of a 'new word' powerful enough to destroy a rotting civilisation's ideological roots.

'Work in Progress' showed that the realisation of the 'new Mythos' was not a totally utopian endeavour. Like the later *Tel Quelians*, Jolas and Gilbert wanted to promote a new type of writing by accompanying it with new tools, like a new semiotics or linguistics. For instance in *transition* no. 18, Gilbert discusses the word 'revolution', a term in which he sees symbolic senses as well as emotive power. Accordingly, the 'Revolution of the Word' will promote secondary, non-utilitarian functions of language, and it will do so

by looking for the *aura*, the 'light vapour which floats above the expression of the thought'.²¹ A true revolutionary is someone who will compose a personal 'syntax', not merely in the linguistic sense, but in the etymological sense of 'setting things together'. Since expression, as the initial Manifesto of *transition* announces, comes before communication, the new syntax will explore the 'dream world' and create a new vision, therefore a new reality. All the critics of *transition* describe the poetics at work in Joyce's musical prose and linguistic babelisation in these terms.

Another young man who was interested early in *Ulysses* was Jacques Lacan who was present at the first reading of sections of the book – in English and in French – that took place at Adrienne Monnier's bookstore Aux Amis des Livres on 7 December 1921. It was during that reading that Valéry Larbaud commented on the schemes or system of correspondences that accounted for some of the intricacies of *Ulysses*. In 1995, Michael Thomas Davis perused Sylvia Beach's library index cards and discovered that Lacan had borrowed a book by Joyce from Shakespeare and Co. in 1941.²² However this was not a book by James Joyce but by the well-known Irish polygraph, Patrick Weston Joyce, the author of numerous studies on Irish and Hiberno-English language and history. On 15 October 1941, Lacan borrowed *A Concise History of Ireland from the Earliest Times to 1922* from Sylvia Beach, returning it on 1 December of that same year. Why did he borrow this book? Was it Joyce's recent demise in Zurich that had made him try to read the novel in the original text, making use of available guides such as Stuart Gilbert's *James Joyce's 'Ulysses': A Study?* Davis speculates that since P. W. Joyce's *Concise History* is quoted by Gilbert in a passage discussing Joyce's use of Irish history,²³ Lacan would have wanted to verify the claims made about the Semitic character of the *Odyssey*. Gilbert mentions the successive waves of conquerors that invaded Ireland, some of Grecian origins, others Semitic, like the mythical Milesians. In his view, Ireland owed its particular spirit and different culture to ancestors of the Wandering Jew, a notion that was not without importance in the context of an occupied France in which racial laws had been enacted. All of this suggests that Lacan was studying *Ulysses* and Gilbert on *Ulysses* closely in 1941. Thus, he was led back to the library, not far from Monnier's bookshop to which he, like Joyce, used to go as a young man.

Stephen's musings during the discussion on Shakespeare in the library do refer jokingly to 'William Shakespeare and Company, limited' (*U* 9.729). Then, hidden in a list of names of Irish heroes of antiquity in the 'Cyclops' episode, we find the curious name 'Patrick W. Shakespeare' (*U* 12.190). The intention seems clear: Joyce has transformed the historian who authored books such as *English as We Speak It in Ireland* and *The Origin and History of*

Irish Names of Place into an Irish Shakespeare. Lacan did something similar by using one Joyce to read another. Lacan would then retranslate Freud into French as the inventor of *jouissance* at the same time as he was translating Joyce into a revised and revisited (Franco-Irish) Freud. For Lacan, by the time he taught his long Joyce seminar in 1976, Joyce had replaced his 'French Freud' as a more adequate 'founder of discursivity'. In Lacanian psychoanalysis, Joyce had become the only author who could open a door leading to an understanding of psychosis, and, in the process, he embodied the 'Sinthome' or Symptom as such.²⁴

The triangular translation of Freud and Joyce into 'Joie' or 'Joyeux' inscribes for Lacan a new *jouissance* in literature – and this is the endless legacy of *Finnegans Wake*. Such a specific legacy justifies Joyce's decision to stay in Paris. As he was writing the almost infinite text with the help of all his disciples, Joyce knew then that he could not have accomplished this in any other city. He had to relive Dublin from Paris because, in an essential way, he could consider himself as partly French. He had told Gillet that his name was French: 'And the name of Joyce is an old French word which reminds us of M. de Joyeuse.'²⁵ This link was made even more forcibly by Gorman's 1939 biography, a book that was partly rewritten by Joyce himself and which gives a portrait of the young Joyce as antipodal as possible to the 'Joyce as Stephen' concept which earlier readers had tended to accept. Gorman thus insists on Joyce's energy and popularity, on his pervasive sense of humour, coupled with occasional athletic feats such as swimming energetically in any season in the sea. His youthful energy and ebullient sense of fun would have derived from the fact that Joyce remained true to the meaning of his own name: 'The name is obviously of French extraction – *Joyeux*.'²⁶ The first Joyces who came to Ireland were indeed descendants of an Anglo-Norman settler who owned estates in Wales as early as the twelfth century; and there was indeed an *Irlande de Châteauneuf* in the de Joyeuse family by 1200.

If the last years in Paris were darkened by Lucia's psychosis and the encroaching war, Joyce knew that humour, often written in pseudo-French, would always survive. Perhaps because he had found out that Louis, one of the sons of the Viscount de Joyeuse, had died at the battle of Pavie, he distorted François I's famous if apocryphal *Tout est perdu fors l'honneur!* (a phrase uttered when he had been comprehensively beaten at Pavie in 1525 and was taken prisoner in Italy). In Joyce's hand, it becomes: 'Though Toot's pardoesled *saue l'humour!* For the joy of the dew on the flower of the fleets on the fields of the foam of the waves of the seas of the wild main from Borneholm has jest come to crown' (*FW* 331.33–6). And that crown of a town can only be Paris.

NOTES

1. See Paul Claudel, 'Deux Lettres à Adrienne Monnier', *Cahier de l'Herne James Joyce*, ed. Jacques Aubert and Fritz Senn (Paris: L'Herne, 1986), p. 129.
2. André Gide, 'Desperate Words Call for Desperate Little Remedies', in Louis Gillet, *A Claybook for James Joyce*, trans. G. Markow-Totevy (London and New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1958), p. 123.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. Arthur Power, *Conversations with James Joyce* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1999), p. 90.
6. Alain de Botton, *How Proust Can Change your Life* (New York: Pantheon, 1997), pp. 110–112.
7. Stuart Gilbert, *Reflections on James Joyce: Stuart Gilbert's Paris Journal* (Austin: Texas University Press, 1993), p. 5.
8. Power, *Conversations with James Joyce*, pp. 91–2.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
11. See Noel Riley Fitch, *Sylvia Beach and the Lost Generation* (New York: Norton, 1983).
12. 'To Edouard Dujardin, the herald of interior speech. The unrepentant thief, James Joyce', quoted in Anthony Suter's Introduction to Edouard Dujardin, *The Bays Are Sere and Interior Monologue* (London: Libris, 1991), p. lxiv.
13. Jean-Michel Rabaté, *James Joyce and the Politics of Egoism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 116–19.
14. I argue in *1913: The Cradle of Modernism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007) that international modernism was well under way in 1913; at least present in Paris, Turin, Vienna, Berlin and London.
15. Power, *Conversations with James Joyce*, p. 60.
16. See Laure Murat, *Passage de l'Odéon. Sylvia Beach, Adrienne Monnier et la vie littéraire à Paris dans l'entre-deux-guerres* (Paris: Gallimard, 2003), p. 101.
17. André Suarès, who was Jewish, totally misunderstood Joyce's insistence on Bloom's Jewishness. Suarès, who met Joyce only twice in 1920, concluded immediately that Joyce was not only anti-Semitic, but boorish and also syphilitic! See the devastating vignettes in his diary, *Cahier de l'Herne James Joyce*, pp. 143–50.
18. *Ibid.*
19. This is a point made by Shari Benstock, Noel Riley Fitch and more recently by Murat in his chapter on 'Ulysse et les Amazones', in *Passage de l'Odéon*, pp. 181–244.
20. *transition* no. 15 (Paris, 1929), p. 15.
21. *transition* no. 18 (Paris, 1929), p. 204.
22. Michael Thomas Davis, 'Jacques Lacan and Shakespeare and Company,' *JJQ* 32.3–4 (1995): 754–8.

23. See Stuart Gilbert, *James Joyce's 'Ulysses': A Study* [1930] (New York: Vintage, 1955), pp. 65–6.
24. See my *Jacques Lacan: Psychoanalysis and the Subject of Literature* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 154–82.
25. Gillet, *A Claybook for James Joyce*, p. 77.
26. Herbert Gorman, *James Joyce* (New York and Toronto: Rinehart & Company, 1939), p. 8.

CHAPTER 20

Trieste

John McCourt

Winter 1911. Trieste. Three of the giants of literary modernism are living within a few miles of each other, each battling with his own particular brand of writer's block. The Austro-German, Prague-born poet Rainer Maria Rilke is long-term guest of the Princess Marie von Thurn und Taxis in her castle at Duino struggling with the early poems of what would become his great *Duineser Elegien* cycle when they were published a decade later in 1923 (her family – the inventors of the European postal service – appear among the shadows in a Joyce notebook as 'Thurn und Taxis' (VI.B.16: 49) and later, in *Finnegans Wake* itself in a section on Shaun the post, as the 'tournintaxes' (FW 5.32). Italo Svevo (the Italian Swabian) is living in the Veneziani family villa in Servola, a suburb of Trieste, plying his business trade under his real name of Ettore Schmitz and quietly nursing his creative vocation which had been so damaged by the popular and critical failure of his early novels, *Una vita* (1892), *Senilità* (1898), and slowly building towards the writing of his great novel, *La Coscienza di Zeno*, which will finally be published in 1923 and successfully promoted by Joyce in Paris. Joyce's own situation is more dramatic. He has fallen out with Stanislaus over money and is struggling to write in a crowded apartment surrounded by an extended family which now also includes the *cattolicissime* (SL 196) – his sisters, Eileen and Eva – whom he has brought to live with him in Trieste. In January he learns that *Dubliners* 'is again postponed *sine die* and without a word of explanation' (SL 197). *A Portrait* is, at best, stuttering. Yet he too, within ten years, will not only publish *Dubliners* and *A Portrait* but will also bring *Ulysses* before the world in modernism's *annus mirabilis*, 1922.

Joyce had arrived in Trieste in October 1904 and found himself in a complex, lively, many-sided, multicultural city that would nurture his writing in many ways despite the many day-to-day difficulties of his life there as a 'gerundmonger',¹ difficulties to which he alludes in *Finnegans Wake* when he writes: 'And trieste, ah trieste ate I my liver!' (FW 301.16).

When in Trieste, Joyce's writing proceeded only in fits and starts and was, for long periods, supplanted by a variety of alternative pursuits that included English-language teaching at the Berlitz school and privately; translation, both of commercial correspondence and, with his lawyer friend, Nicolò Vidacovich, of literature in the form of J. M. Synge's *Riders to the Sea*; business – as founder of Ireland's first permanent cinema, the Volta on Mary Street in 1909 – and as part-time purveyor of Irish tweeds). He also dedicated himself to journalism writing nine front-page articles about Ireland for *Il Piccolo della Sera* and was, as Giorgio Melchiori has pointed out, from 1907 to 1912, 'exclusively an Italian writer'.² On his return in 1907 from his deeply unhappy six-month Roman sojourn, Joyce also dedicated a significant amount of time to having his voice trained at the *Conservatorio Tartini*, a choice, this, which clearly infuriated Stanislaus, who noted in his Trieste diary: 'Now that his writing is "definitely off", I take little interest in the budding *tenorino*, that has failed as a poet in Paris, as a journalist in Dublin, as a lover and novelist in Trieste, as a bank clerk in Rome, and again in Trieste as a Sinnfeiner, teacher, and University Professor' (*Triestine Book of Days*, 12 October 1908). Three years after Stanislaus wrote this, Joyce's career as a 'novelist in Trieste' was still stalled. Like Rilke and Svevo, he endured a lengthy fallow period but while theirs was lived in comfort, Joyce's was suffered in a situation of relative poverty and constant struggle. Yet each of them would be inspired by his time in Trieste. Rilke would be creatively nurtured by the natural beauty of the cliff coastline near Duino, Svevo's novels would incarnate the very soul of this city struggling into modernity, while Joyce would come to use 'the cummulium of scents' that he found in his 'italian warehouse' (*FW* 498.30) as a major source of material for both *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*.

Trieste, a small European melting pot, a multiethnic 'salad', to use Stanislaus Joyce's term,³ provided vital content and context for Joyce's writing but its importance in the overall Joycean scheme of things was, for too long, underestimated. When Hugh Kenner referred to Trieste as 'inconspicuous' he was voicing the predominant view of Joyce critics about the city's role in Joyce's imagination.⁴ As Richard Robinson has commented: 'Triestine textual scholarship of Joyce has been neglected because of Trieste's own indefinability. A cosmopolitan border city, without the immediately recognisable character of a well-known metropolis ... it has been read out of the literary cartography of Anglo-American scholarship.'⁵ However, various studies, such as Peter Hartshorn's *James Joyce and Trieste*, Renzo Crivelli's *James Joyce's Triestine Itineraries* and my own *The Years of Bloom: Joyce in Trieste, 1904–1920*,⁶ have attempted to read Trieste back in, and each has

shown that interpretations of Joyce's life and works through a Triestine lens can not only be illuminating but can also provide an important and necessary corrective and challenge – as an example of what Bruce Robbins calls 'localized cosmopolitanism'⁷ – to the Irish Joyce that in recent years has gained the upper hand over the 'international modernist Joyce' that reigned supreme for half a century.

By simply being in Trieste, Joyce was able to achieve the miracle of being in many places at the one time. It was both a Middle European and a Mediterranean city; it was *Triest*, *Urbs Fidelissima* of Imperial Austria which had, following the Napoleonic Wars, enjoyed a status as an Imperial Free City before becoming capital of the Austrian Littoral region, the *Küstenland*. It was the Italian city of *Tergeste*, made a colony by Julius Caesar who mentioned it in his *Commentarii de bello Gallico* (Joyce alluded to the Roman origins of the city many years after leaving it when referring to himself as a *Tergestime Exul* (*SL* 268). In Joyce's time, Trieste's population was predominantly an Italian-speaking one that lost no opportunity to assert vibrantly its 'italianità'. For the Slavs, on the other hand, it was *Trst*, a city with a notable Slovene and Croat population, especially in the suburbs (26 per cent of the total according to the 1911 census), which might well have a role to play in a future Slav nation.

Trieste was also more than a combination of the Latin, the Teutonic and the Slav, however. It was a melting pot so cosmopolitan that it was often referred to as the city of many nations because of its variegated population drawn from Austrian, Czech, Arab, Hungarian, Armenian, Greek, French and even English backgrounds. An Italian surname was no guarantee of Italian roots, as Claudio Magris eloquently shows in *Microcosms*: 'The journey down never reaches a point of arrival or departure, the Origin is never identified. Scratch an Italianized surname and out comes the Slav layer, a Bussani is a Bussanich, but if one continues an even more ancient layer appears, a name from the other side of the Adriatic or elsewhere.'⁸ This was the town, after all, where, as George Eliot put it in *Daniel Deronda*, 'the garments of men from all nations shone like jewels'⁹ or where, as Karl Marx put it rather less lyrically, 'a motley crew of speculators', Italian, German, English, French, American and Jewish, held sway.¹⁰ Molly Bloom's description of the marketplaces in Gibraltar with 'the Greeks and the jews and the Arabs and the devil knows who else from all the ends of Europe' (*U* 18.1587–9) aptly fits the Trieste of Joyce's time.

Trieste was all of these things and more, its port was also 'la porta d'oriente' – the gateway to the east. Joyce identified this role when he referred to the city as 'Tarryeasty' (*FW* 228.23–4) – *la terra dell'est* – the land

of the east, a place whose 'oriental' elements would also provide him with much inspiration.

Joyce's Trieste was a city with too many complex and contradictory connections. Those who moved to the city put down deep roots and spoke the *lingua franca* – the *Triestino* dialect – but all the while retained, even generations later, a strong sense of their originary ethnic identity. There was nothing original in Joyce's looking backwards to his home country from Trieste, in his being 'betwixtween' (*FW* 184.7), never quite belonging solely to the home abandoned or to the home adopted. For many of the new and not so new immigrants, were they part of the worldly-wise commercial elite or of the infinitely more numerous poorer classes come in search of gainful employment, this liminal state was often the norm.

Trieste, a small fishing port of a few thousand souls at the start of the eighteenth century, had grown into a bustling city only in the 200 years prior to Joyce's arrival. This expansion was made possible by the settlers who had been drawn there by the city's new role as chief port of the vast Austro-Hungarian Empire. Like other great port cities, the nineteenth century brought massive growth: the population of Marseille had tripled from 186,000 to 550,000, that of Hamburg from 193,000 to over a million, that of Trieste from 92,000 to 256,000. The Trieste that Joyce discovered was living the last days of its golden years as principal port and emporium of 'Old Auster and Hungrig' (*FW* 464.27–8), a crossroads city of shipping, commerce, insurance, culture. Soon the ramshackle empire would crumble and already a variety of nationalisms were competing to challenge and even cancel the city's accommodating cosmopolitan spirit, turning it, in the twentieth century, into a 'crogiolo mancato', a failed crucible.¹¹ The rise of nationalism would make it ever more difficult for Trieste's citizens to be in-between, both—and options would no longer be acceptable; individuals would be forced to choose their nation and very often that choice would be based on a repression of part of the ancestry and heritage or on the mangling of a surname to make it sound Italian. This would eventually have tragic consequences in the First World War, where one Triestine brother would face another in war, the one fighting for Austria, the other for Italy.

Although Trieste had much in common with the other cities of the very Catholic Austro-Hungarian Empire, whose two religious patrons were, interestingly for Joyce, St Leopold of Austria and St Stephen of Hungary, it was always a place apart. It had successfully resisted Austrian attempts to boost its Catholic ethos and was known as a singularly secular city: when Joyce declared that he and his family were 'senza confessione' – without religion – in the 1911 Trieste census, he was far from unusual in doing so.¹²

At the same time, it was a tolerant, multireligious place, home to a wide range of communities including the Valdesan Protestant, the Serb Orthodox, the Greek Orthodox, the Anglican, the Lutheran, the Armenian Mechitarist and the Jewish, as well, of course, as a large Catholic population. Joyce would enjoy this aspect of the city and come to deserve the appellation 'Jimmy the chapelgoer' (*FW* 587.35–6) that he coined in *Finnegans Wake*. His Berlitz School colleagues would jeer him for his church-going, as he noted in a letter to Stanislaus: 'He says I will die a Catholic because I am always moping in and out of the Greek churches' (*L* 11 89). Once Joyce had met Italo Svevo, he would pester the Triestine novelist with questions about the Jews, hoping that he would be able to provide information that so many of his other Jewish students seemed unable to answer. He also visited the synagogues, and had many Jewish friends and students from the local 'society of jewses' (*FW* 423.36) – a mixture of rich businessmen, Irredentists and Zionists such as Moses Dlugacz who would make an appearance under his own name in *Ulysses* as the 'queerlooking man in the porkbutchers' who 'is a great rogue' (*U* 18.911–12). As Neil Davison has commented: '[Joyce's] first ten years there [in Trieste] represent a ... very deliberate quest for a well-rounded knowledge about European Jewry, Judaism, and racist representations of the Jew'.¹³ From this quest and from his Jewish friends and acquaintances, many of whom had Hungarian roots, he would put flesh on the hybrid character of Bloom.¹⁴

If Trieste provided Joyce the chance to engage in a comparative study of religion, it also fascinated him as a multiethnic city, as a place that at times seemed to belong to everyone and no one. Few families were able to claim any kind of 'pure' racial lineage, be it Italian, Slav or Austrian, and the city's blood was genuinely mixed as the result of generations of miscegenation. Scipio Slataper, contemporary of Joyce and author of *Il mio carso*, the book which explains the complex burden of being a Triestine *meticcio* – a 'mixed middling' (*U* 12. 1658–9) – described the city's dilemma in how it was caught between Imperial Austro-Hungarian Mitteleuropa and Italy, the Mediterranean 'Ilbelpaese' (*FW* 129.27), which the city's Irredentists, ignoring economic realities, longed to join while wilfully ignoring the fact that Trieste had become the third urban centre in the empire after Vienna and Prague and the world's seventh busiest port only because of its role within the larger imperial structure: 'It is the torment of two temperaments, the commercial [Austrian] and the Italian, which collide and nullify each other, and Trieste cannot suppress either of the two: this is the double spirit, otherwise it would kill itself. Whatever is necessary for commerce is a violation of the Italian aspirations, just as any real commercial gain damages

the spirit.¹⁵ Joyce summed up the competing nationalist impulses in a cutting comment in his Triestine poem in prose, *Giacomo Joyce*: 'Ay. They love their country when they are quite sure which country it is' (GJ 9).

Trieste contained population groups that felt a deep sense of belonging not to some fallen and idealised past – such as the Celtic Irish past that was so successfully propagandised by the Irish Revival – but to the polyglot imperial city that had become their adopted home *and* to alternative abandoned imagined communities, such as Italy, Greece or Hungary, or homelands being formulated or already forming – we need think only of the Zionist movement that was being proposed in Theodor Herzl's *Der Judenstaat* and which was keenly followed in Trieste or of the hopes for Slav nationhood that were solidifying on the city's doorstep and further complicating the Austrian-Italian tug-of-war over the city, as noted by Stanislaus Joyce in conversations with James recorded in his Triestine *Book of Days*:

If I could live to be two hundred, I am sure I should live to see the Latin races in their agony. Their extinction is inevitable, with their steadily increasing death-rate. How, for example, do Italians hope to maintain the *italianità* of Trieste, when in the city you have, on all hands, childless families, and, in the surroundings, a threatening and hostile Slav population with families of from six to twelve. These Slav families are poor and have many boys, who begin early to strike out for themselves, while Italian families are from one to three – probably one boy and two girls. Now girls don't count, when they marry they change everything, religion, nationality, language, prejudices, even appearances. The Italians here complain just of this, that the children of the half-Italian blood in the suburbs speak Slav and do not understand *italiano*.¹⁶

The complex nexus of economic, political and cultural relationships enjoyed and endured by semi-colonial Trieste was very different to the one Joyce had abandoned in Ireland. Unlike Ireland, where the colonisers had come to occupy the land through confiscation, in Trieste and its environs, the Austrian colonisers had, along with Greeks, Jews, French, Slavs, Hungarians, bought their way in having come either to invest in the burgeoning emporium or to seek work there. There was no need to depose a strong local population because Austrian Trieste was invented from almost nothing and was essentially the rich fruit of a political decision to establish a port there. As a result, Habsburg Trieste contained multiple identities but it could never be wholly identified with any one nation.¹⁷

Against this very specific Triestine background Joyce began to form the theoretical skeleton of the ideas that Bloom would later come to embody, most importantly his refutation of 'the old pap of racial hatred' (L II 167) in its anti-Irish, anti-English and anti-Semitic configurations. The influence of

Trieste can be seen in Joyce's assertion, in his sometimes contradictory 'Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages' lecture, that no race could boast of being pure because none was. Nowhere was this belief better exemplified than in Trieste with its intermingled ethnic groups drawn from all over Europe. Later in *Ulysses*, both Bloom and Molly embody the double or even multiple versions of belonging that existed in Trieste and the analogies that Joyce came to see between Ireland and the Adriatic city. In his lecture, as Robinson has argued, Joyce showed that 'he had come to realise in Trieste that all civilizations are impure, and warned against the perilous construction of relationships between nation and racination, race and rhetoric. The lecture, given a number of years before Joyce embarked on *Ulysses*, is an important precursor of the Triestine thematics concealed under the surface of the Dublin novel.'¹⁸

With so many of the population of Trieste maintaining strong ties with their countries and cultures of origin, Trieste was living proof of Bloom's seemingly impossible formulation that a nation was not simply 'the same people living in the same place' but also, and essentially, a variegated diaspora of 'the same people living in different places' (*U* 12.422–9). As European nationalism gained ground, Triestine Slavs could feel at one with Slavs living elsewhere in the empire while the Italian population could do the same with their cousins living beyond the Isonzo in Italy. Triestine Jews, depending on the backgrounds, could feel at one either with their Italian or Austrian brethren or with the larger Jewish family scattered around the globe, some of whom were slowly beginning to set up a new homeland in Palestine.

A sense of multiple belonging lay at the heart of one of the most important Triestine schools of writing in Joyce's time, that of the group of writers involved with the avant-garde literary journal *La voce* edited by Giuseppe Prezzolini in Florence. Often referred to collectively as the *Vocianti*, they included Slataper, Umberto Saba and Angelo Vivante, whose *Irredentismo Adriatico* was a telling study of the difficult future that would be faced by a newly Italian Trieste deprived of its Middle European and Danubian hinterland. The group around *La Voce* tended to write against rising Italian nationalism and in favour of the complicated pluri-ethnic reality of Trieste. They rejected political irredentism but gave voice to an alternative form of cultural irredentism, believing that Italian culture should be developed only in dialogue with that of its neighbours, be their cultures Slav or German. They, like the local socialists, argued for an accommodating version of Trieste, home to different peoples and civilisations, which was very much in tune with Joyce's vision of the city and in line with the multinational image of Ireland that he paints in his 'Ireland Island of Saints and Sages'

lecture and later imposes on the Dublin of *Ulysses* (populated by 'Dubliners' with names like Artifoni, Bloom, Nanetti, Rabaiotti, Reuben J. Dodd, Herzog, Moisel, Dubedat, Dlugacz, Purefoy).

The other literary movement to gain support in the city in Joyce's time was futurism, which strongly identified with Irredentism. Marinetti famously referred to Trieste as one of the three capitals of futurism and was part, on 12 January 1910, of a spectacular futurist event held in the *Politeama Rossetti*, less than a year after the first futurist meeting was held in Paris in February 1909.¹⁹ Even if Joyce were not present, the event could not but have caught his attention, as many of his acquaintances, such as the editor of *Il Piccolo*, Roberto Prezioso, the journalist and man of letters, Silvio Benco, the poet Dario De Tuoni and Joyce's first portraitist, Tullio Silvestri, were all in the audience to listen to the explosive readings and proclamations by Marinetti, Palazzeschi, Armando Mazza and Michelangelo Zimolo. Trieste also had its own futurist school which included Italo Tavalato, Luigi Crociato and Teodoro Finzi, who, under the pseudonym, Fedoro Tizzoni, published his volume, *Cannonate* in 1910. Even if the thematic obsessions of futurism such as the conquest of time and space, the celebration of war, of industrialisation, of strength, speed and daring would have left Joyce cold, even if his attention to the integrity of the art he was producing was in stark contrast with the often superficial, even throw-away approach of futurism, that movement's innovative stylistic features such as the orthographical revolution, the quest for simultaneity, the use of 'parole in libertà' (the free placing of words) were very much in tune with his own interests. Not surprisingly, then, in Joyce's Triestine library we find two futurist books: Aldo Palazzeschi's *Il Codice di Perelà* and Giovanni Boine's *Il Peccato*. He later purchased Marinetti's *La enquête internationale sur le vers libre et manifeste du futurisme*²⁰ and in Zurich gave Budgen a loan of 'Boccioni's book on futurism' (probably *Pittura scultura futurista – dinamismo plastico*, which had been published by Marinetti's *Poesia* in 1914). He also asked Budgen if he thought the 'Cyclops' struck him as 'Futuristic',²¹ a question that could be profitably applied to several episodes of *Ulysses*.

Movements such as those around *La voce* and futurism impacted upon Joyce whose writing methods were in a state of almost constant flux in Trieste. The entire Trieste sojourn represents an important transitional period for the writer. Beneath the literary silence and the immense frustrations, bigger things were brewing for Joyce who was absorbing material for *Ulysses* and transforming himself as a writer. Joyce's transition can most be clearly seen in his puzzling *Giacomo Joyce*, which disorients the reader

caught between the 'scrupulous meanness' of the realism of *Dubliners*, the combination of lyricism and naturalism to be found in *A Portrait* and the larger polysemic structures of *Ulysses*.

If, as we have seen, Trieste's complex political realities and its avant-garde literary movements engaged Joyce's attention, the same can also be said of its lively theatrical and literary mainstream. The city's theatres offered a wide range of plays from Shakespeare to Shaw, from Ibsen to Pinero to Italian contemporaries such as d'Annunzio (a regular and popular visitor to the city), Praga and Giacosa (both of whom Joyce mentions in his notes for *Exiles*). If anything, the opera scene was even richer and Joyce took full advantage, becoming an avid fan of the local and the regular touring companies playing at the prestigious *Teatro Comunale*. The Italians, represented by traditional figures such as Donizetti and Verdi, and more contemporary composers of the school of *Verismo*, such as Puccini, Leoncavallo, Mascagni, Giordano (these latter two conducted performances of their own works in Trieste in Joyce's time), and the local artist Antonio Smareglia, whom Joyce knew personally, were patriotically pitched against the German school led by Richard Wagner and Richard Strauss (whose *Salome* was produced in Trieste in 1909 and was the occasion for Joyce's newspaper article 'Oscar Wilde: il poeta di *Salomé*' in *Il Piccolo della Sera*). The Austrian school of operetta was also prominent with the works of Johann Strauss and Franz Lehar often produced.

The arrival of theatre and opera (and cinema) from many European directions was a sign of how the city was a magnet for important currents of modern European literary, cultural and political thought. If one segment of the population looked to Florence for cultural inspiration and renewal, another, at least as large, was abuzz with ideas and cultural experimentation from Vienna – from Herzl, Mahler (who conducted in Trieste in 1905), Schnitzler, Von Weininger and, most of all, Freud (who, incidentally, had worked for a short time studying the sexual organs of eels at the laboratory for Marine Zoology in Trieste in 1876): 'In Joyce's Trieste, Freud's work and psycho-analytical theory were discussed animatedly. Whilst in Italy Freud's ideas met with considerable opposition, both in their scientific and cultural implications, in Trieste they took root with relative ease, on account of the particular social and political configuration of the city.'²² While Freud's Triestine pupil, Dr Edoardo Weiss, led the way in introducing Freud's work, interest was widespread and conspicuously so among the city's writers, such as Svevo and the poet Umberto Saba. Joyce too, though he played this possible influence down while talking up that of Dujardin and claiming Vico had anticipated Freud, could not but have absorbed the psychoanalytic

lessons arriving from Vienna when developing his own use of the interior monologue.²³

For many reasons, then, Joyce would come to recall his time in Trieste in positive and sometimes nostalgic terms. He found a range of ideas and enough kindred spirits to make up for the material problems and frustrations that he undoubtedly suffered there. Testimony to this is his letter to Stanislaus from Rome in which he states: 'I would like to be in Trieste again ... because I should sometimes have the opportunity of meeting somebody who shared to a certain extent, my temperament' (*L* II, 215). Maria Jolas reported that in her conversations with Joyce in Paris he had described his life in Austrian Trieste as 'a very warm, friendly moment in history ... a model of what life had been at that time, when people were not trying to oppress one another'.²⁴ In marked contrast to his initial annoyance shown in an early Pola letter ('I hate this Catholic country with its hundred races and thousand languages' (*L* I 57)), Joyce came to look fondly on Trieste and on the gentler pre-war world of the 'ramshackle' Austro-Hungarian Empire of which it was such an important part. His comment to Mary and Padraic Colum suggests that Joyce took a positive view of Austro-Hungary: 'They called it a ramshackle empire. I wish to God there were more such empires ... the state tried to impose so little upon its own or upon other people. It was not war-like, it was not efficient, and its bureaucracy was not strict, it was the country for the peaceful man.'²⁵

In such a city and such an empire and perhaps only there could Joyce have forged one of literature's most convincing peaceful men, Leopold Bloom, Joyce's lasting testament to the city of Trieste, that was, as he told his friend, Alessandro Francini Bruni, his second country.

NOTES

1. Italo Svevo, *James Joyce*, trans. Stanislaus Joyce (New York: City Lights Books, 1972), no pages given.
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*Greek and Roman themes**Brian Arkins*

I

Reception Studies analyses the many ways in which later eras appropriate the Greco-Roman world, and has now become a very important part of the discipline of Classics. The twentieth century, in which Joyce published his work, proved to be one of the eras most devoted to the use of Greek and Roman material. Many exponents of modernism – Pound, Eliot, Yeats, Joyce – exemplify this trend.

This process of using Greek and Roman material is best described as ‘appropriation’ – defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as ‘to make over to anyone as their own’ – and is therefore to be seen as active rather than passive; as Eliot said, ‘mature poets steal’. The Irish dramatist Marina Carr concurs: ‘It seems that you are allowed to steal while learning the craft and that there is no crime in that.’¹ This active process is not necessarily conservative, since Greek and Roman authors may themselves be radical: Euripides renders problematical war (*The Trojan Women*), religion (*Bacchae*), sexual love (*Hippolytus*), feminism (*Medea*). Less radical texts such as Homer’s *Odyssey* can be used in modern radical structures, as in Pound’s epic poem *The Cantos*, and in Joyce’s epic novel *Ulysses*.

During Joyce’s lifetime (1882–1941), knowledge of the Greek and Roman world continued to constitute what Bourdieu calls ‘cultural capital’,² showing a person (usually a man) to be educated, to be part of civilised society. Joyce’s life and work demonstrate the truth of this observation. For Joyce acquired an excellent knowledge of Latin from Jesuit priests at the secondary schools Clongowes Wood College (1888–91) and Belvedere College (1893–8), and at University College, Dublin (1898–1902). Indeed the only time Joyce achieved honours at university was in Latin (60 per cent in first year). Furthermore, when the young Joyce attended mass in Roman Catholic churches, the liturgy was in Latin; hence at the beginning of

Ulysses, Buck Mulligan intones the opening statement of the mass *Introibo ad altare Dei* – I will go to the altar of God – (U 1.5).

Joyce did not study classical Greek at school or at university, and states this himself; ‘I don’t even know Greek though I am spoken of as erudite.’ But the matter is not so simple: Joyce also points out that he spoke modern Greek ‘not too badly’³ (acquired from Greeks in Trieste – L 1 167). Given the considerable continuity in the Greek language from its classical to its modern form, he will have acquired some knowledge of classical Greek, but not enough to read fluently an author like Homer in the original. In any case, Joyce could certainly use a Greek dictionary, and, when he died in 1941, one was found on his desk.

For Joyce, the two most important classical authors were Homer and Aristotle. He possessed a copy of Homer’s *Odyssey* in Greek, but relied mainly on the mannered translation into English by Butcher and Lang. More significant is the fact that, at Belvedere, Joyce read Charles Lamb’s *Adventures of Ulysses* saying of it that ‘it was the mysticism that pleased me’; the term ‘mysticism’ is used here to mean ‘allegory’, that is to interpret the *Odyssey* as being really about something else (a process begun very early in Greece). Hence Joyce ensured that the *Odyssey* of Homer is turned into an odyssey round Dublin on 16 June 1904.

Joyce was familiar with many of Aristotle’s works; *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Metaphysics*, *Physics*, *Problemata*, *De Sensu*, *Poetics*. But the crucial work is *De Anima*, which suggests that the animating force will perceive a determined body as having or not having a particular attribute; thus Stephen Dedalus claims that ‘Aristotle’s entire system of philosophy rests upon his book of psychology [*De Anima*] and that, I think, rests on his statement that the same attribute cannot at the same time and in the same connexion belong to and not belong to the same subject’ (P 225). Solid bodies, in this Joycean world, must belong to x or y.

II

The most important and most impressive appropriation of Greco-Roman material by Joyce is the way his novel *Ulysses* makes use of the *Odyssey* of Homer. Regarded as a Bible by the Greeks, the *Odyssey* enjoyed an enormous vogue in the Victorian and Edwardian eras, more so than the tragic *Iliad* which is basically an epic poem about violence while the comic *Odyssey* is an epic poem about accepting, about enduring life, about the possibility of a satisfactory ending. It could be argued that Joyce’s use of the *Odyssey* in *Ulysses* is a private matter of little significance for the reader. But Ellmann

explains why this is not so: 'Joyce is not much like Homer, either in his subject matter or in his preoccupation with autobiography; yet the Homeric myth hovers behind Bloom in *Ulysses*, insistently altering the context of that book' (JJ 4).

Indeed Joyce's *Ulysses* offers one of the most elaborate examples of intertextuality in literary history as it copies, modifies, alters Homer's *Odyssey*. The relationship between *Ulysses* and the *Odyssey* is vouched for by Joyce himself, who asserted that 'my book is a modern *Odyssey*. Every episode in it corresponds to an adventure of Ulysses';⁴ and we know that he was constantly in pursuit of the solution to some problem of Homeric correspondence. His use of Greek titles to refer to each of the eighteen episodes of *Ulysses* is an example of this (there is no Homeric authority for these titles), and, although these titles do not appear in the book, they are generally used by critics.

Because *Ulysses* interacts so insistently with the *Odyssey*, commentators have often fallen into twin traps; either they place the emphasis on the ideal nature of Homer's mythical world, from which Joyce's real world has drastically declined; or they place the emphasis on how the Greek and Irish worlds are essentially similar. But because *Ulysses* shadows the *Odyssey* in such a subtle way, the solution to the problem of how to evaluate Joyce's use of the mythic background requires a more complex answer that turns out to be the same as the one that applies to Eliot's use of myth, the past is both superficially unlike and essentially like the 'present'.⁵

There is one overriding reason for this duality in what Joyce called the 'two plane' writing of *Ulysses*: as Kenner noted in a crucial insight, 'the fundamental correspondence is not between incident and incident, but between situation and situation'.⁶ For example, in the *Scylla and Charybdis* episode the twin monsters Stephen faces, as he explicates *Hamlet*, are not the mythological creatures of *Odyssey* 12, but pure spirit in the shape of George Russell and pure body in the shape of Buck Mulligan.

Ulysses and the *Odyssey* display features that are similar and dissimilar. A class system operates in both works: in the *Odyssey*, the hereditary nobles (*aristoi*) control everything, while the rest (freeholders, craftsmen, labourers, slaves) are nowhere; in *Ulysses* the powerful elite of Roman Catholic Church and British State, followed by those in the professions, control everything, while the rest, including the lower middle class who largely make up the cast of *Ulysses*, are nowhere. Furthermore, the worlds both of Homer and of Edwardian Dublin are man's worlds. Nevertheless, the *Odyssey's* favourable treatment of 'lower-class' characters provided a prototype for Joyce's own lower-middle-class world.

Both the *Odyssey* and *Ulysses* deal with brief periods of time: it is notoriously the case that *Ulysses* relates events that take place over eighteen hours of a single day, 16 June 1904, but in the *Odyssey* there are only six weeks between the intervention of the gods at the beginning and the killing of the suitors.

Greater difference is found in the narrative style of the two works and in their use of language. In general, Homer's style is objective while Joyce's is subjective. Homer relies heavily on a third person narrator to the extent that Coleridge could assert 'There is no subjectivity whatever in the Homeric poetry.'⁷ But we know that the *Odyssey* contains examples of characters' unspoken thought (embedded focalisation), and, in particular, the thoughts of Odysseus. This device anticipates the much more elaborate use of characters' thoughts in Joyce and, in particular, the device of interior monologue.

The fundamental theme of the *Odyssey*, the Wanderings and Return of Odysseus, is mirrored in the Wanderings around Dublin of Leopold Bloom and his Return home to 7 Eccles Street. In his absence, Ithaca and Odysseus are usurped by the Suitors, as Stephen is usurped by Buck Mulligan and as Bloom is usurped by Blazes Boylan, who has sex with his wife Molly. The parallel for the way Poseidon, god of the sea, harasses Odysseus is the way Bloom is tossed in the sea of matter. The sub-theme of the son Telemachus in search of his father Odysseus is caught in Stephen Dedalus' abandonment of his natural father Simon Dedalus and meeting with Bloom, a symbolical father. Odysseus' wife Penelope and Bloom's wife Molly share a feminine role that sees them confined to the house and cut off from the serious world of men. Moreover, the basic tripartite structure of the *Odyssey* – Telemachy, Wanderings, Return – is preserved in *Ulysses*. And, lastly, Joyce makes use of many detailed correspondences that are often comic (Odysseus' burning log becomes Bloom's cigar; Circe, who turns men into beasts, becomes Bella Cohen, keeper of a brothel).

At the same time, there are considerable divergences in *Ulysses* from the *Odyssey*, both in structure and in characterisation. In terms of structure, since the modern quest is necessarily ongoing (as in Pound's *Cantos* and Eliot's *The Waste Land*), there is much greater stress in Joyce on the Wanderings, much less on the Return, and somewhat less on the Telemachy; as a result, the *Odyssey*'s pattern of 4 (Telemachy) + 8 (Wanderings) + 12 (Return) becomes in *Ulysses* 3 + 12 + 3. Then just as some redactor imposed the present arbitrary structure of twenty-four books on the *Odyssey*, Joyce substantially rearranged the order of the episodes: Nausicaa comes much later in *Ulysses* (episode 13) than in the *Odyssey* (Book 6), while the order of both Aeolus and Hades, and

of *Wandering Rocks* and *Sirens* is reversed; the episodes *Lotus-eaters* and *Cyclops*, both in Book 9 of the *Odyssey*, are separated by six others. Then the length of episodes can be changed drastically: Homer's account of the *Lotus-eaters* takes just over twenty lines, while Joyce's equivalent comes to more than twenty pages, and Homer's account of the *Lestrygonians* takes little more than fifty lines, while Joyce's equivalent comes to more than twenty-five pages. Finally, in the case of two episodes, *Wandering Rocks* and *Penelope*, Joyce produces material that is only hinted at in the *Odyssey*.

The three central characters of *Ulysses*, Leopold Bloom, his wife Molly and Stephen Dedalus, are both similar to and diverge from their Homeric prototypes Odysseus, Penelope and Telemachus. It is futile to insist upon either the similarities or the divergences as a key to understanding these characters; rather, we should be ready to explore the creative tension that results from the clash between ancient and modern.

At first glance, Leopold Bloom is very different from Odysseus: he is not a king, but a canvasser for advertisements; he is a non-practising Jew rather than a pious Greek; he is not assisted by the gods and does not hear Tiresias prophesying his Return; he has unconsummated sexual encounters with mortal women rather than consummated sexual encounters with immortal women; he is not crafty, and he is passive in the face of his wife's adultery with Boylan, the Suitor, whose pervasive presence in *Ulysses* corresponds to that of the Suitors in the *Odyssey*.

But Bloom possesses other qualities that link him to Odysseus. First, since Bloom is (as Joyce insisted) a 'good' man, and since he is therefore noble, he becomes very Greek (he is also tall and relatively wealthy). Now for the Greeks a person's name set 'the ideal pattern for his whole life', and the name Leopold Bloom, in which the lion (Latin *leo*) has become a flower, suggests the abandonment of violence and its replacement by what is fruitful. As a result, Bloom's pacifism mirrors Odysseus' initial reluctance to take part in the Trojan War, and his moral courage in the face of the Citizen's chauvinism mirrors Odysseus' determination to overcome the Cyclops. Then Bloom certainly merits the first epithet that Homer applies to Odysseus, *polutropos*, whether it means 'much wandering' or 'ingenious' given that Bloom wanders all round Dublin and is constantly thinking up schemes to improve human life. Again, Bloom helps Stephen as Odysseus rescues his companions, while both men are themselves solitary.

An essential characteristic of Bloom is that he is a man of the *body*, who begins *Calypso* by eating and ends it by excreting; he therefore enacts, in a highly somatic text, the normal libidinal cycle of human beings. The emphasis on the body is very Homeric: just as Odysseus consumes 'all

sorts of food' – Fielding called the *Odyssey* 'that eating poem' – so Bloom 'ate with relish the inner organs of beasts and fowls' (*U* 4.1–2). Indeed the matter of kidneys (which are the organ of *Calypso*) illustrates the difference between Bloom and Stephen, who is a non-Homeric man of the *mind*: Bloom *literally* eats a kidney for breakfast whereas Stephen *metaphorically* devours 'an urinous offal from all dead' (*U* 3.479–80).

A major part of Joyce's achievement in adapting Homer lies in his creation of the modern Odysseus, Leopold Bloom; as Keats said, noting Dante's addition to the story of Odysseus, 'We ought to be glad' to have 'more news of Ulysses than we looked for'. For just as Joyce makes Bloom into an Everyman, and has the unlikely authority of Plato for that transformation, when in the myth of Er the souls choose the life they would like, Odysseus chooses the life of an ordinary man: 'The memory of his former sufferings had cured him of all ambition and he looked round for a long time to find the uneventful life of an ordinary man; at last he found it lying neglected by the others, and when he saw it he chose it with joy and said that had his lot fallen first he would have made the same choice.' It is Joyce's achievement to have portrayed in detail the life of this ordinary Odysseus.

The Greek names of Stephen Dedalus are very significant and distinguish him radically from Telemachus. His first name Stephen (from Greek *stephanos*, a crown) suggests the first Christian martyr and so somebody who sacrifices his life for his art; a point confirmed by the title his friends give him, Bous Stephanoumenos, 'crowned ox', which links Stephen to a Greek animal about to be sacrificed. The surname Dedalus invokes the Greek craftsman as a model because he was a pioneer in sculpture and architecture, as Stephen (Joyce's *alter ego*) is to be an original writer of fiction; hence the *Portrait's* epigraph about Dedalus from Ovid: 'and he directs his mind to unknown arts'. And just as Dedalus flew aloft on wings, so Stephen will be 'a new soaring impalpable imperishable being', who invokes his predecessor at the end of the novel: 'Old father, old artificer, stand me now and ever in good stead.' But since Stephen has not in reality accomplished anything at all, the name Dedalus also brings to mind Dedalus' son Icarus, who was drowned. It is no surprise therefore that Stephen does not, in the end, stay with his adoptive father Bloom, but moves on inexorably, like the Odysseus of Kazantzakis, an incurable wanderer, to some new goal. Because Stephen holds that 'Paternity may be a legal fiction' in that at least he is similar to Telemachus (*Odyssey* 1.2 15–16).

Stephen's basic inadequacy is shown most clearly in the Proteus episode. Whereas Telemachus in the *Odyssey* finds out that his father Odysseus is

being detained by Calypso, Stephen fails to learn anything, and is overwhelmed by the flux of the phenomenal world that is symbolised by water.

Molly Bloom emulates Penelope by embodying the principle of the eternal feminine, but, unlike the faithful Penelope, commits adultery with Blazes Boylan (as in late versions of the Greek myth). In her soliloquy, Molly places an overwhelming stress on sex (the organ of the *Penelope* episode is flesh), which justifies Joyce's identification of her with Gaia/Tellus, the goddess of the earth and symbol of this episode. This identification is certainly apposite: Gaia was not only the Earth in general, but also the particular piece of Earth that worshippers tilled, as Molly is worshipped in sexual terms by Bloom and Boylan; Gaia is the source of new-born children, as Molly has given birth to a daughter Milly and a son Rudy while Tellus is linked to the Roman feast of Forticidia that promotes fertility; Gaia is closely connected with the goddess Themis, whose name means 'stead-fast', and Molly in the end remains with Bloom.

Molly's frankness about sex and about personal relationships is liberating, but her almost total preoccupation with these topics shows that she shares with Penelope (and with women in fifth-century Athens) the role of a woman confined to the house and excluded from the serious world of men; as she says herself, 'I hate the mention of their politics' (*U* 18.387–8).

It is true, of course, that Molly does sing at concerts, but she spends 16 June 1904 entirely in the house and a lot of time in bed – as Penelope remains at home and lives largely in the women's quarters. So, in social terms, both Penelope and Molly live very restricted lives at home, while their husbands are highly mobile. As a result, the theme of infidelity looms large in both Homer and Joyce: Penelope must not sleep with the suitors, Molly's sleeping with Boylan is constantly stressed. Nevertheless, Molly ensures that suitors such as Boylan and Stephen are mentally eliminated; as Wilson says, 'it is in the mind of his Penelope that this Ulysses has slain her suitors who have been disputing his place'⁸ (in an earlier version of the *Odyssey*, Penelope helped Odysseus get revenge on the suitors).

The problem faced by both Penelope and Molly is that women lack the education that would allow them to take an adequate part in men's affairs. Penelope, of course, comes from a pre-literate society, but Molly, who acknowledges Mrs Riordan's education, clearly regrets her own inadequate schooling when she speaks of her daughter Milly going to school 'where she'd have to learn not like me' (*U* 18.1006–7).

Another character in *Ulysses* that has Greek aspects is Buck Mulligan. Though Mulligan is identified with the usurping suitor Antinous – the last word of the opening *Telemachus* episode is 'Usurper' – it is his

preoccupation with Greek themes in general rather than the Homeric parallels that give this first episode a distinctly Hellenic flavour. Mulligan's proposals for Hellenising both Ireland and Stephen involve complex layers of meaning. Mulligan's central proposal to Stephen – 'God, Kinch, if you and I could only work together we might do something for the island. Hellenise it' (*U* 1.157–8) – must be viewed in the context of the fact that Gogarty's work is full of Greek material (as in the letters of 1904–7 to G. K. A. Bell, and in poems such as 'With a Coin from Syracuse' and 'Europa and the Bull') and that *Ulysses* is the Irish *Odyssey*. At the same time, this project involves a rejection of Irish Catholicism and an espousal of neopaganism, whose temple is the Tower, conceived in terms of the navel-stone at Delphi in Greece: 'To ourselves – new paganism – omphalos' (*U* 1.175).

When Mulligan says 'Ah, Dedalus, the Greeks. I must teach you. You must read them in the original', ironies multiply. At one level, both men correspond to Homeric characters and both possess names that are or seem to be Greek; Mulligan says to Stephen 'Your absurd name, an ancient Greek', and thinks his own name has a 'Hellenic ring'; at another, Stephen has been deprived of his inheritance by not knowing Greek. Finally, Mulligan fashions two original compound adjectives for the sea, 'snotgreen' and 'scrotumtightening', which, as modernised Homeric epithets, mirror in miniature the way *Ulysses* modernises the *Odyssey* (*U* 1.78–9, 34, 41–2, 78).

Yeats mentioned that 'ancient salt is best packing'; *Ulysses* shows how true this is.⁹

III

The relationship between creative writers and philosophy is complex. Rare indeed is the case of a writer fully accepting the doctrines of a particular philosopher; much more common is a scenario in which the writer manipulates the views of some philosopher in order to express her or his concerns, arguing for or against or being ambivalent. So while Aristotle is an important source for Joyce, there is no question of his accepting, without reservation, the doctrines of the Greek philosopher. Yet Joyce told his friend George Borach that Aristotle was the greatest thinker of all time,¹⁰ owing his great stress on empirical facts in part to Aristotle.

Founder of the sciences of biology and of logic, Aristotle held that facts of the material world are separable items, that they can be grasped by sense-perception and that they must be collected in an indefatigable way. Joyce in his fiction often (but not always) privileges facts in this way, so that Ellmann can assert that for Joyce 'what the universe was had been laid down by

Aristotle'.¹¹ So Stephen Dedalus follows Aristotle in seeing facts as inescapable, as 'Ineluctable modality of the visible' (*U* 3.1). So time and again in *Ulysses*, Joyce presents us with minutely observed facts: 'Father Conmee sat in a corner of the tramcar, a blue ticket tucked with care in the eye of one plump kidglove, while four shillings, a sixpence and five pennies chuted from his other plump glovepalm into his purse' (*U* 10.115–17).

Joyce also pays tribute to Aristotle by mimicking his totalising researches into zoology and politics (he wrote about the constitutions of 158 Greek states) in the encyclopaedic lists of *Cyclops* and of *Circe*. This tendency reaches its apogee in the extraordinary piling of fact upon fact in *Ithaca*, but we must note that, because it is taken to absurd lengths, the tendency becomes comic.

But Aristotle's stress on factual knowledge is matched in *Ulysses* by the scepticism of Hume from *Wandering Rocks* to *Circe*.¹² Indeed Stephen applies the Aristotelian adverb 'ineluctably' to the sceptical concept of an uncertain void, which derives not from Aristotle, but from Hume: 'he affirmed his significance as a conscious rational animal proceeding syllogistically from the known to the unknown and a conscious rational reagent between a micro and a macrocosm ineluctably constructed upon the incertitude of the void' (*U* 17.1012–15).

IV

Since the vocabulary of English is so heavily influenced by Latin words, it is no surprise that a man as conscious of language as Joyce exploits these Latinisms to the full. Longer Latin-based words are not necessarily less expressive than their short Anglo-Saxon counterparts, and they often in Joyce become strong, powerful, imperious. Such words suggest the old fact that the Romans ruled England, and the new fact that an Irishman, from a country never ruled by the Romans, can reimpose Roman dominion over the language of his conqueror.

Some examples. In *Proteus*, Stephen's famous and powerful description of physical reality as 'Ineluctable modality of the visible' (*U* 3.1) employs three Latin-based words: the ordinary noun 'visible' from Latin *visibilis*, dating from the second century AD; the much rarer noun 'modality' from medieval Latin *modalitas*; and 'ineluctable' from the strong post-Augustan adjective *ineluctabilis*, one of the many words of emotive value with the characteristic termination – *abilis*.

In *Ithaca*, the description of the moon's awesome nearness is presented in a phrase of four Latin-based adjectives and two Latin-based nouns (the first

of which does not exist in standard English), which brings English as close to Latin as it can get and yet remains very powerful 'the terribility of her isolated dominant implacable resplendent propinquity' (*U* 17.1166–7).

But the *pièce de résistance* in Joyce's use of Latinisms is the description of the man and woman having sex. Because Joyce employs the exact grammatical terms that apply to the Latin language and that are themselves Latin-based to render the basic Anglo-Saxon verb 'to fuck', he ensures that the man and the woman who have sexual intercourse are wholly comic. Who would have thought that 'masculine subject, monosyllabic onomatopoeic transitive verb with direct feminine object' means 'he fucked her', or that 'feminine subject, auxiliary verb and quasimonosyllabic onomatopoeic past participle with complementary masculine agent' means 'she was fucked by him'? (*U* 17.2216–23). Especially when Latin itself says the same things with equal brevity and power: *is futuit eam; ea futata est ab eo*.

In *Finnegans Wake*, language is not just centre stage, but has commanded the work; as Beckett famously put it, 'His writing is not about something; it is that something itself.'¹³ The Greek and Latin languages make up an important part of the polyglot discourse of *Finnegans Wake*. Particularly striking is Joyce's use of a complex type of neologism, in which words that relate to Greek and Latin are new in a double sense: they are not merely novel in English, in which they did not exist until now, but they are based on words in Greek and in Latin, which, although formed from elements in those languages, are themselves putative. So Joyce not only forges uncreated English now, but returns across millennia to the world of the initial *logos*, of the initial *verbum*, in order to manufacture from the scattered limbs of Greek and Latin a new dialect of those languages that we might call Eblanan (Eblana is the Latin for Dublin).

Two examples from the *Wake* of such neologisms, one Greek, one Latin, will make the point. The very long word 'morphomelosophopancreates' appears to mean 'flesh all shaped skilfully by music', but, to get that far, we need to identify the four Greek words *melos*, 'music', *sophos*, 'skilled', *pan*, 'all', and *kreas*, 'flesh'. The long word 'vulgovariovenera' meaning 'relating to universally changeable sexual love' derives from Latin *vulgo*, 'universally', *varius*, 'changeable', and *venereus*, 'relating to sex' (*FW* 88.9, 98.18).

v

To conclude. For Joyce, the Greek world is one 'I am peculiarly fitted to enter' (*JJ* 408). His entry was truly spectacular: a marked stress on ineluctable facts that derives from Aristotle; large-scale coinage in *Finnegans Wake*

of neologisms based on classical Greek and on Latin words; above all, the appropriation in *Ulysses* of Homer's *Odyssey*, one of the most impressive examples of the use of Greek material in the modern era. *Ulysses* is, of course, a radical text, and so achieves a revitalisation of the past. As advocated by Feddei Zelinsky, Professor of Classics at St Petersburg University (his star pupil was Mikhail Bakhtin): Greco-Roman civilisation should 'not be a norm, but a living force in our culture'.¹⁴ As it certainly is in Joyce.

A final point. One of the definitions in the *Oxford English Dictionary* of the noun 'Greek' is an 'Irishman'. Verb. Sap.

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CHAPTER 22

Medicine

Vike Martina Plock

I was interested to read what you told me in your last letter as I myself started to study medicine three times, in Dublin, Paris and again in Dublin. I would have been even more disastrous to society at large than I am in my present state had I continued.

(*LI* 137)

In 1890 the German bacteriologist Robert Koch (1843–1910) unexpectedly announced the discovery of a cure for tuberculosis, one of the most devastating contagious diseases of the time. This announcement was greeted with excitement and Koch's revolutionary finding swiftly promised to become a landmark in medical research. Arthur Conan Doyle, himself a doctor, visited Koch's laboratory in the same year and conveyed some of the excitement surrounding the event in an article in the *Review of Reviews*:

The stranger must content himself by looking up at the long grey walls of the Hygiene Museum in Kloster Strasse, and knowing that somewhere within them the great master mind is working, which is rapidly bringing under subjection those unruly tribes of deadly micro-organisms which are the last creatures in the organic world to submit to the sway of man.¹

Sadly, after thorough trials, Koch's famous cure turned out to be ineffective. But Conan Doyle's account, unabashedly comparing the medical practitioner to an unflinching imperialist on his civilising mission, nonetheless illustrates the unrelenting faith invested in medicine and medical research at the turn-of-the-century. And modern medicine's achievements were indeed considerable. Due to improved technology and reformed analytical procedures medical practitioners generated diagnostic labels for illnesses as diverse as hysteria and cholera and argued authoritatively about how to treat the pathological manifestations of modernity. By the time Joyce, the one-time medical student, was writing, medicine had emerged as an assertive progress narrative, energetically intervening in discussions about the improvement of Western civilisation.

This optimistic belief in medicine's corrective potential for solving modern health problems was the outcome of a thorough reorganisation of medicine and medical institutions which took place over the course of the long nineteenth century, an era known as the 'period of medical reform'.² Before the industrial revolution, medicine's influence on individuals' lives had been marginal. Illnesses were treated at home in the family, with occasional assistance being offered by midwives. Medical knowledge of the human body and its organisation was patchy and the belief in Galen's intellectual heritage, the humoral theory of body fluids and energies, persisted for centuries.

Things changed radically with the Enlightenment's optimistic belief in human rationality. It was at this time that doctors changed from wise healers into scientific experts. Pathoanatomy was especially important in ushering in new forms of medical practice. Physicians were now able to cut through the epidermis and to uncover the detailed organisation of the human body. As a consequence disease could be located and its pathological configurations made visible in organs, tissues and, with the rise of nineteenth-century histology, finally also in cells. Furthermore, the minute scrutiny of patients' pathological symptoms sanctioned the development of an objective nosological analysis. Whereas the 'Hippocratic consultation was a patient-oriented ... form of diagnostic inquiry' and conferred importance upon the subject's individual description of the illness,³ the new clinico-analytical method developed generic disease entities that became independent of the patient's individual sufferings. Epistemological priority was now given to the doctor's physical examination whereas the patient's individual narrative became a negligible feature. In the early stages of the development of clinical medicine, it was the disease that became the subject of the medical inspection, whereas the patient metamorphosed, as Michel Foucault puts it, from individual sufferer into an object, which is 'tolerated as disturbance' in the 'ideal configuration of the disease'.⁴ With this rational and empiricist approach to medical analysis came the first sustained attempts to create accurate illness directories such as William Cullen's (1710–90) bestselling nosology *First Lines of the Practice of Physic* (1778–9).

While Enlightenment rationality thus transformed medicine's analytical practice, the nineteenth-century spirit of 'self-governing professionalism'⁵ also propelled the different medical professions, which had to that date worked independently of each other, to combine their political interests. In Britain physicians, surgeons and apothecaries united into one representative body, the British Medical Association, founded in 1855. The 1823 launch of the *Lancet* as the profession's first official organ, defining the medical

corporation's ethical outlook, became an equally important landmark in the reorganisation of medical practice. Finally, the 1858 Medical Act established a unified medical register that firmly distinguished between approved practitioners and quacks.

Ireland's medical corporations followed suit: both the Irish Medical Association and *The Dublin Medical Press* were founded in 1839, though the situation in the country was more complicated than in Britain. Religious discrimination severely restricted the study of medicine for Catholics. While in 1785 the Irish Royal College of Surgeons began to offer a surgical diploma that did not require a religious test, Trinity College Dublin, then the only Irish institution granting a medical degree, 'discriminated until 1873, and severely until 1783, against members of churches not in communion with the Church of Ireland'.⁶ The founding of the Catholic University of Ireland in 1854 and of its Medical School in Cecilia Street the following year finally corrected matters by offering officially approved medical degrees to Irish Catholics. Joyce, like many of his friends including John Francis Byrne, chose to follow this career path in 1902, although he rapidly abandoned it.

Strengthened by these important institutional changes and by medicine becoming a learned profession, the medical order faced the challenges posed by one of the nineteenth century's most pressing social concerns: public health. As Joseph O'Brien notes, at the turn of the twentieth century infectious diseases still 'accounted for one-third of all deaths in Dublin'.⁷ But now medical experts started to intervene actively. In nineteenth-century Dublin, for instance, practitioners were instrumental in carrying out a great number of sanitary measures that helped to combat the devastating hygienic conditions in the Irish metropolis. A General Board of Health was created in 1820, and from 1850 onwards the Irish capital benefited from various sanitary improvements works such as drainage, street paving and the appointment of Medical Officers of Health. However, it was the discoveries of the above-mentioned Robert Koch and the French chemist Louis Pasteur (1822–96) that successfully inhibited the spread of diseases such as cholera and tuberculosis. Independent of each other, both scientists suggested in the 1880s that bacteria were contagious agents transmitting diseases. An echo of the extent to which bacteriology revolutionised therapeutic practices and cultural and social debates can be heard in 'Nestor' when Mr Deasy, in his open letter on the foot and mouth disease, refers to 'Koch's preparation' (*U* 2.332).

Overall, such hygienist interventions were no doubt beneficial. However, it must not be forgotten that sanitary legislation helped to concretise

medicine's supremacy in nineteenth-century society. It relied heavily on medicine's scientific evaluations regarding preventive health provisions and in linking medical knowledge to administrative authority created a new social elite in the medical expert. By the end of the nineteenth century medicine had finally advanced from its early nineteenth-century marginal position to one of crucial social and political importance. The old milk-woman's awe and reverence for Buck Mulligan, the medical student (*U* 1.418–19) gives testimony to the medical practitioner's enhanced social status and professional authority at the time Joyce was writing *Ulysses*.

If turn-of-the-century society idolised its medical practitioners, the thought of medical scholarship and research inspired the general public with even greater confidence. In secularised late nineteenth-century culture medicine was clearly expected to do the great work of the future. Yet much of the medical research undertaken by Victorian scientists was not just confined to laboratory work. Instead medicine's scientific parameters were freely applied to the analysis of the social context. Public concerns such as teenage masturbation, insanity or alcoholism, which had been regarded as moral problems for centuries, were scrutinised in a novel, scientific light. Medical research into such matters thereby did not replace moral unease about recurring social problems but in providing nineteenth-century morality discourses with a more rational and objective undercurrent helped significantly to reinforce prevailing social discourses. Setting new scientific standards medical practitioners argued persuasively about the question of cultural and social acceptability. They established firm guidelines for what was to be regarded as normal, healthy or sane while at the same time conducting sustained studies of social irregularities and abnormalities that took on distinctively discriminative undercurrents. Examples of such late nineteenth-century medical projects are as far-reaching as they are colourful: phrenology or the anthropological studies of the Italian psychiatrist and criminologist Cesare Lombroso (1836–1909), who in his study *L'Uomo Delinquente* (1876) argued forcefully for biological determinism in the behaviour of criminals.

Late nineteenth-century medicine's most pessimistic predictions came to the fore with emerging degeneration theories. Writers such as the English psychopathologist Henry Maudsley (1835–1918) or the French alienists Benedict Augustin Morel (1809–73) and Valentin Mangan (1835–1916) established pathopsychological taxonomies for alleged hereditary diseases such as alcoholism or insanity. Evidently, degeneration was the most aggressive medical evaluation of the social context. For not only did this pseudo-medical theory single out specific disease patterns, but it actually

equipped individuals with decisively pathological labels. Furthermore, its empiricist and objectivist stance made it impossible to refute hostile conclusions as irrelevant and insignificant.

Joyce was fascinated by such issues. Lombroso is mentioned several times in his correspondence with Stanislaus in 1906 (*L* II 151, 157, 190) where Joyce's casual remarks about 'Lombrosianism' (*L* II 151) are linked to both his ongoing interest in socialism and his absorption in continental theories on Jewishness and anti-Semitism. But degeneration is not the only medical intertext that Joyce alludes to. His writings positively resonate with medical imagery, allusions and physical and pathological descriptions. The earliest example is Joyce's 1900 play *A Brilliant Career*, written in homage to Henrik Ibsen, which follows the career of a young doctor during an endemic outbreak of the plague. Although Joyce never again made a doctor the protagonist of one of his texts, medicine continued to hold his interest. As Florence L. Walzl suggests, Joyce 'absorbed clinical attitudes, which he carried into his fiction'.⁸ *Dubliners*, with its case histories depicting the cultural paralysis of the Hibernian metropolis, is especially effective in its appropriation of medical terminology as a set of metaphors for the city's social circumstances. The episodes of Joyce's 1922 *Ulysses*, on the other hand, are famously organised around a human body's organs, bones, nerves, locomotive apparatus and blood circulation. Although Joyce later dismissed the Linati schema and the Gilbert-Gorman plan as interpretative devices for *Ulysses*, the novel nevertheless continues to accentuate Joyce's ongoing interest in exploring the analogies between the human body and the city as a social organism.

The 'Oxen of the Sun' episode stands out. It takes place in the National Maternity Hospital and is the section to which the Gilbert-Gorman plan allocates the art 'medicine'. Unsurprisingly, most criticism on medical intertexts in Joyce's works has concentrated on this episode. Andrew Gibson's 2002 article 'An Irish Bull in an English Chinashop: "Oxen of the Sun"' usefully discusses contemporary discourses on fertility and population control and uncovers many interesting aspects of turn-of-the-century Irish medicine.⁹ Equally informative are Mary Lowe-Evans' study *Crimes against Fecundity: Joyce and Population Control* and Susan Cannon Harris's 1998 essay 'Invasive Procedures: Imperial Medicine and Population Control in *Ulysses* and *The Satanic Verses*'. Both critics position the episode's textual focus on medicine in the context of turn-of-the-century English imperialist politics.¹⁰

However, 'Oxen' is not the only one of Joyce's writings that accumulates medical references. As John Gordon's 2003 essay 'James Joyce, Skinside

Out' illustrates, physiology, histology and especially neuroscience crucially inform Joycean texts.¹¹ With gadgets such as the 'Wonderworker' (*U* 11.1224), remedies such as Gerty's 'Widow Welch's female pills' (*U* 13.85), manuals such as Eugen Sandow's *Strength and How to Obtain It* (*U* 17.1397) and with Molly's reference to 'that antifat' (*U* 18.456) patent remedies, turn-of-the-century self-improvement advertising ideologies also find their way into the pages of Joyce's novel. As Stephen Dedalus announces, 'This is the age of patent medicines' (*U* 15.4470–1). Moreover, in 'Penelope' Molly recalls her 1888 consultation with the gynaecologist Dr Collins (*U* 18.1153–4).¹² Additionally, with such Bloomian statements as '[e]ating with a stopwatch, thirtytwo chews to the minute' (*U* 8.360), 'Lestrygonians', in alluding to 'the great masticator' and health food faddist Horace Fletcher (1849–1919), specifically incorporates Victorian nutritional science discourses.

Such a list of medical intertexts in Joyce's fiction could be considerably extended. A very informative study that unearths additional medical references is Jack B. Lyons' 1973 *James Joyce and Medicine*.¹³ Although Lyons' book is a biographical rather than socio-historical analysis of Joyce's texts, its collection of medical allusions can serve as a fruitful starting-point for thorough contextual studies. Clearly, some of Joyce's fascination with medicine might have been motivated by his own ill health. As his biographies show, he repeatedly suffered from gastric pains and rheumatism and was treated for a bout of rheumatic fever in 1907 in Trieste – an illness likely to have been syphilis-related.¹⁴ His correspondence further demonstrates that Joyce was constantly worried about heart defects and that he, by the time he moved to Paris, routinely checked himself for potential cardiac symptoms: 'The attack lasted about an hour. I could scarcely breathe and was very pale and weak – and nerves! Still I don't think it was cardiac because my nails remained pink' (*L* I 170). Even though such lamentations often struck a hypochondriacal note, Joyce's painstaking self-surveillance might also be the reason why his writings offer us such hyperrealist observations of social reality, approximating in their precision the practices used in clinical analysis.

Another Joycean affliction that certainly had an influence on his writing was the deteriorating condition of his 'wretched eyes' (*L* III 252). The 'continual pain and danger of loss of sight' (*L* I 190), which made numerous operations inevitable, explains Joyce's astute sense of acoustics and his growing interest in exploring the musicality of language, especially when writing *Finnegans Wake*. Among the topics deserving of more rigorous investigation in future scholarship on Joyce and medicine might be 'heart disease' in 'Hades' or a detailed analysis of medical allusions in *Finnegans*

Wake. Joyce's last text is particularly in need of more attention in this regard. In spite of its rich assembly of medical references, the *Wake*'s radical abandonment of literary realism has so far resisted such a thorough socio-contextual analysis. Critics have focused on its connection to mental illnesses such as schizophrenia and hysteria,¹⁵ but the *Wake*'s unmistakable awareness of its medical contexts could become the subject of many more scholarly surveys in the areas of neurology, neuroscience, linguistic disorders, aphasia or ophthalmology and diseases of the eyes.

Future studies on Joyce and medicine will undoubtedly note that his interest in medicine went beyond simply evoking its terminology and using medical discourses as material to liven up the texture of his fiction. From a very early stage medicine and its clinical practice also inform the aesthetics of Joyce's writing. Evidently, medical analysis is based on a particular form of narrative organisation. The medical practitioner as discursive organiser of disease patterns has to identify the exact nature of an illness. This can be achieved by accurately reading the physical and/or psychological manifestations of the patient's case. Whereas the clinical symptoms constitute a kind of elliptical text, the physician's interpretative work categorises the illness's chaotic phenomenology. Medical analysis is therefore based on putting the nosological parameters, the cryptic narrative of the case, into a coherent etiological structure.

Unsurprisingly, the narrative genre that predominates in the period of medical reform is literary realism, a genre based on an almost scientific analysis of the social order and one that shows interesting connections to the representational frameworks used in medical analysis. As the critic Lawrence Rothfield intriguingly suggests 'the emergence, development, and decline of realism as an authoritative literary praxis can be tied to the vicissitudes of clinical medicine as an ideal profession'.¹⁶ Rothfield's argument is compelling. Historical analysis suggests remarkable analogies between the rise of realism as a literary genre and medicine's ascent to institutional authority. Additionally, the fiction of realist novelists such as George Eliot or Thomas Hardy, both of whom had a sustained interest in medicine, can be read as a series of medical case studies based on definite causality patterns. Like the predetermined progress of a disease that has been successfully located and named, the plot of a realist novel such as *Middlemarch* unfolds, developing temporal and causal chains of events, in accordance with its narrative blueprint. In realism we find therefore an example of a literary genre that was decidedly influenced by contextual scientific discourses. Whereas modern medicine had abandoned its old philosophical foundation and concepts and gone out of its way to emphasise

its refashioned analytical and objectivist procedures, contemporary literary texts enthusiastically embraced medicine's scientific agenda and refashioned literary techniques and styles accordingly.

Joyce was deeply involved in literary modernism's ongoing experimentation with narrative style, astutely challenging the conventions of literary realism. But his innovative fiction also debated medicine's allegedly empiricist foundations in a way that suggests that medical discourses, in spite of their repeated claims to objectivity, remained indebted to creative interpretation and thus to a certain amount of speculation and conjecture. In Joyce's view, literary texts are more than ambassadors of contextual scientific debates, rather they are excellent tools for excavating the discursive organisation of culture. In the remaining section of this essay I want to propose a reading of 'A Painful Case', a story that crucially investigates the perplexing and challenging work of interpretation, in order to demonstrate that Joyce's writing reflects on both the politics and the aesthetic paradigms set in motion by revolutionised medical concepts and practices. As we shall see, although the story's narrative development is deeply influenced by what Rothfield identifies as medical realism, 'A Painful Case' resolutely destabilises modern medicine's hegemonic stance.

As the manuscript is dated 15 August 1905 the story's composition falls into the time in which Joyce's interest in Lombrosianism was kindled. Interestingly, the original title of the story was supposedly 'A Painful Incident'.¹⁷ By changing it to 'A Painful Case', Joyce made the reference to the medical context more explicit. Does this mean therefore that we are supposed to read the text as a case study? And if it does then whose case are we supposed to analyse? Evidently, the inserted newspaper heading appearing mid-way through the story suggests that the 'painful case' is first of all the incident of Emily Sinico's tragic end. It is not surprising therefore that the reader encounters in this journalistic account both the figure of 'Dr Halpin, assistant house surgeon of the City of Dublin Hospital' (*D* 110) and a first medical diagnosis: 'The right side of the head had been injured in the fall. The injuries were not sufficient to have caused death in a normal person. Death, in his opinion, had been probably due to shock and sudden failure of the heart's action' (*D* 110). Noteworthy in this short passage are the emphasis placed on the doctor's analytical and interpretative work ('Death, in his opinion, had been probably due to') and the fact that his interpretative stance has identified a pathological abnormality in the specific case ('The injuries were not sufficient to have caused death in a normal person'). Medically there seems to be something out of the ordinary in Mrs Sinico's case and it is clearly because of the medical evidence provided

that other, more mysterious and secretive factors are considered as leading to the specific events of her death. Whereas 'A Painful Case' therefore demonstrates the authority of the medical perspective in analysing a case, it also illustrates the fatal results of such a deterministic medical reading. Clearly, while hints at Mrs Sinico's alleged alcoholism are ultimately irrelevant to a discussion of the particulars of her biological end, such attempts to fill gaps in the case's clinical evaluation crucially sentence Mrs Sinico to a social death. Mr Duffy's impulsive and judgemental reaction, impregnated by degeneration rhetoric, most crucially illustrates this: 'Evidently she had been unfit to live, without any strength of purpose, an easy prey to habits, one of the wrecks on which civilisation has been reared' (*D* 111–12). Medicine's diagnostic practice is thus shown to be instrumental in determining social analysis.

However, the 'deceased lady' (*D* 109) is by no means the only individual who is subjected to a socio-medical examination. The story suggests that the 'painful case' might equally be that of Mr Duffy, the bachelor who 'lived at a little distance from his body, regarding his own acts with doubtful side-glances' (*D* 104). Early on in the text the reader is told that a 'mediæval doctor would have called him saturnine' (*D* 104). Although such a medical analysis based on Galen's humoral theory had long ceased to be in fashion, this short statement shows that Mr Duffy's case would be a fruitful one for a medical observer.

Unsurprisingly, the opening paragraphs of 'A Painful Case' could have been taken straight out of a medical case history: 'Mr James Duffy lived in Chapelizod because he wished to live as far as possible from the city of which he was a citizen and because he found all other suburbs of Dublin mean, modern and pretentious' (*D* 103). Compared to other opening sentences in *Dubliners*, this conventional overture is most unusual for Joyce. But this candid recourse to literary realism is, of course, in tune with the prose conventions of medicine's clinical cases. Sustained by the story's realist prose and its factual style purporting to be a clinical observation of social reality, Joyce is successful in making us believe that we are reading a medical analysis when turning to the first page of 'A Painful Case'.

If the story invites a clinical analysis of its protagonist then critics have certainly followed Joyce's suggestion. In order to explain his surprising rejection of Mrs Sinico's emotional advances critics have identified Mr Duffy variously as a 'compulsion neurotic' and a closet homosexual.¹⁸ Like clinical practitioners, Joyceans have provided analytically sound reasons for Mr Duffy's erratic behaviour. Yet like an obstinate patient or an opaque clinical case, 'A Painful Case' resists such a clear-cut application of

diagnostic labels. There is hardly enough evidence to establish nosological parameters for Mr Duffy's case. Even the most scrupulous reader cannot achieve such a prognostic feat.

That the case of 'A Painful Case' remains undeterminable is partly due to its intriguing stylistic shifts. As Margot Norris points out the reader's frustration with Mr Duffy's erratic behaviour is aggravated by the story's prose style.¹⁹ Sentimental passages seduce us into believing that we are reading a romantic adultery story: 'Her companionship was like the warm soil about an exotic ... The dark discreet room, their isolation, the music that still vibrated in their ears united them. This union exalted him, wore away the rough edges of his character, emotionalised his mental state' (*D* 107). As Norris observes further, while Mr Duffy's cold rejection must have felt to Mrs Sinico 'like a figurative slap in the face',²⁰ the prose without prior notice performs an equally offensive gyration in shifting back into the analytical register of medical realism: 'Mr Duffy was very much surprised. Her interpretation of his words disillusioned him' (*D* 107). 'Four years passed. Mr Duffy returned to his even way of life' (*D* 108).

Suzanne Katz Hyman further notes that the event of the lady's unexpected death triggers yet another stylistic change. This time the prose is decidedly melodramatic: 'But that she could have sunk so low! Was it possible he had deceived himself so utterly about her?' (*D* 112). 'Why had he withheld life from her? Why had he sentenced her to death? He felt his moral nature falling to pieces' (*D* 113).²¹ Evidently, this contest between medical realism, sentimental fiction and melodrama further complicates the reader's attempts to generate coherent interpretative parameters. Even on a stylistic level the story remains elusive and resists the application of analytical labels.

Consequently, 'A Painful Case', with its manifold analytical indeterminacies, successfully undermines modern medicine's hegemonic perspective that firmly based its interpretative work on objectivity and rationality. In spite of its deceitful appearance as medical case study, 'A Painful Case' does not provide a decisive medical analysis of its protagonists. Nor is it a piece of realist prose indebted to the analytical paradigms set up by modern clinical medicine. Mr Duffy's case remains as enigmatic as the story is complex and dynamic from a stylistic point of view.

Yet the fact that the story's complexity generates conflicting and contradictory readings can tell us a lot about Joyce's ongoing debate with modern medicine's political agenda. If Mr Duffy's irresolvable case is up for the reader's interpretative grabs and such a pseudo-clinical examination generates analytical indeterminacies, 'A Painful Case' also suggests that the

clinico-analytical work of contemporary medical practitioners is based on similar strategies. Joyce's fiction creates an analogy between the literary critic and the medical practitioner. Both produce creative readings, of a literary text or the social context respectively. 'A Painful Case' thus hints at analytical flaws in medicine's objectivist philosophy. Whereas modern analytical medicine based its sway on modern culture by stressing its rational and logical perspective, Joyce highlights medicine's clandestine connections to the aesthetics of reading, to creativity and to the imagination. At a time when modern medicine was eager to sever its associations with the arts and reinvent itself as pure science, Joyce hints, intriguingly, at the ongoing interactions between the arts and the sciences. Of course, such a suggestion made modern medicine decidedly vulnerable as a confident turn-of-the-century progress narrative. But Joyce clearly enjoyed constructing challenging readings of contemporary cultural politics.

NOTES

1. Arthur Conan Doyle, 'Dr Koch and his Cure', *The Review of Reviews* 2 (1890): 552.
2. Irvine Loudon, 'Medical Practitioners 1750–1850 and the Period of Medical Reform in Britain', in Andrew Wear, ed., *Medicine in Society: Historical Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 219.
3. Malcolm Nicolson, 'The Art of Diagnosis: Medicine and the Five Senses', in W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter, eds., *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*, 2 vols. (London and New York: Routledge 1993), II, p. 802.
4. Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 8.
5. Noel and José Parry, *The Rise of the Medical Profession: A Study of Collective Social Mobility* (London: Croom Helm, 1976), p. 117.
6. Peter Froggatt, 'Competing Philosophies: The "Preparatory" Medical Schools of the Royal Belfast Academical Institution and the Catholic University of Ireland, 1835–1909', in Greta Jones and Elizabeth Malcolm, eds., *Medicine, Disease and the State in Ireland 1650–1940* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1999), p. 61.
7. Joseph V. O'Brien, *'Dear, Dirty Dublin': A City in Distress, 1899–1916* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), p. 104.
8. Florence L. Walzl, 'Dubliners', in Zack Bowen and James F. Carens, eds., *A Companion to Joyce Studies* (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1984), p. 159.
9. Andrew Gibson, 'An Irish Bull in an English Chinashop: "Oxen of the Sun"', in *Joyce's Revenge: History, Politics, and Aesthetics in Ulysses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 150–82.
10. Mary Lowe-Evans, *Crimes against Fecundity: Joyce and Population Control* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1989); and Susan Cannon Harris,

- 'Invasive Procedures: Imperial Medicine and Population Control in *Ulysses* and *The Satanic Verses*', *JJQ* 35.2-3 (1998): 373-99.
11. John Gordon, 'James Joyce, Skinside Out', in *Physiology and the Literary Imagination: Romantic to Modern* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), pp. 147-85.
12. See my articles 'Jack the Ripper and the Family Physician: Gynaecology and Domestic Medicine in "Penelope"', in Richard Brown, ed., *Joyce, 'Penelope' and the Body* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), pp. 129-43, and 'A Feat of Strength in "Ithaca": Eugen Sandow and Physical Culture in *Ulysses*', *JML* 30.1 (2006): 129-39.
13. Jack B. Lyons, *James Joyce and Medicine* (Dublin: Dolmen, 1973).
14. See Erik Schneider, "'A Grievous Distemper': Joyce and the Rheumatic Fever Episode of 1907", *JJQ* 38.3-4 (2001): 453-75.
15. Shari Benstock, 'The Genuine Christine: Psychodynamics of Issy', in Suzette Henke and Elaine Unkeless, eds., *Women in Joyce* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), pp. 169-96; Margaret McBride, 'Finnegans Wake: The Issue of Issy's Schizophrenia', *JSA* 7 (1996): 145-75; and Carol Loeb Shloss, *Lucia Joyce: To Dance in the Wake* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003).
16. Lawrence Rothfield, *Vital Signs: Medical Realism in Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. xiv.
17. Michael Groden, 'A Textual and Publishing History', in Bowen and Carens, eds., *A Companion to Joyce Studies*, p. 79.
18. James D. Le Blanc, 'Duffy's Adventure: "A Painful Case" as Existential Text', in Morris Beja and David Norris, eds., *Joyce in the Hibernian Metropolis* (Columbus: Ohio University Press, 1996), p. 146; and Roberta Jackson, 'The Open Closet in *Dubliners*: James Duffy's Painful Case', *JJQ* 37.1-2 (1999): 83-97.
19. Margot Norris, 'Shocking the Reader in "A Painful Case"', in *Suspicious Readings of Joyce's 'Dubliners'* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), pp. 158-71.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
21. Suzanne Katz Hyman, "'A Painful Case: The Movement of a Story through a Shift in Voice', *JJQ* 19.2 (1982): 111-18.

CHAPTER 23

Modernisms

Michael Levenson

Early in *Stephen Hero*, the ambitious young Stephen Daedalus expresses confidence by noting ‘some movement proceeding “out in Europe”’ (*SH* 35). Even in the midst of fierce proud individuality, he acknowledges here the power of others who are equally determined to transform the basis of culture. There can be no doubt that for Joyce too the bid for an artistic vocation depended on the consciousness of inhabiting a wide modernist milieu. Crucially, though, for Joyce, as for his avatar Stephen, the ferment was ‘out’ beyond Ireland, a source of confirmation and inspiration, but at a great remove from his national and local world. It will be the burden of this chapter to locate Joyce within an emerging and maturing modernism. Part of the task will be to show the changes in the wider culture that affected (and were affected by) Joyce’s own work. But the central task will be to indicate strains of experiment that he may have ignored or repudiated but that help to place him within the broader episodes of modernism.

By the time Joyce came to intellectual self-consciousness in the last years of the nineteenth century, it was easy to recognise, but also still easy to deny, the provocations that Daedalus notices ‘out in Europe’. Yet these provocations had their own complex history. It is first of all worth remembering that before it was a movement of difficult formal experiment, modernism was a challenge in the realm of ideas, a counter-ideology. Joyce, like so many others of his generation, was not content to be an instinctive or unconscious creator. The hero of his first novel was as much an intellectual as an artist, and, like others of his generation, Joyce engaged with poets, dramatists and novelists as well as with philosophy, politics and religious thought. As *A Portrait* makes memorably clear, Joyce’s understanding of the practice of art develops within (and often against) the competing practices of religion and politics. It is at every stage critical as well as imaginative.

The post-Darwinian crisis in religious faith, the sharpening of class conflict, the challenge to imperial authority, the demands for sexual freedom, the claims of women for the vote, the rise of a mass media – these

epochal changes coincided with the maturing of the modernist challenge. They also accentuated a generational conflict. Especially for those born, like Joyce, in the last third of the nineteenth century, the division between new and old convictions and social practices pitched children against parents. Frank Wedekind's play *Spring Awakening* (1891) crystallised this estrangement between adolescents and those who claimed to guide and tend them. Beyond this conflict stands the recognition of a new art and new audiences that raise the prospect of an alternative culture, not merely a set of disturbing artifacts or critical provocations, but a fully oppositional culture that presented a counter-history for modernity.

Ibsen was a first consuming enthusiasm for Joyce, and not for Joyce alone. Toril Moi has recently argued that through his strenuous critique of idealism Ibsen stands at the origins of modernism and that his refusal of the idealist lure stimulated the cultural radicalism of succeeding generations.¹ When, at the end of *A Doll's House* (1879), Nora Helmer leaves her husband and children, her decision was debated all over Europe. Over the next two decades, in drama after drama, Ibsen repeatedly stirred controversy, which above all centred on the thematic content of his plays and the propriety of displaying taboo issues in public. *Ghosts* (1881), which brought the ravages of syphilis on to the stage, was described as 'an open drain, a loathsome sore unbandaged, a dirty act done publicly, a lazar house with all its doors and windows open'.² Such reactions, like the plays themselves, stigmatised an emerging modern culture as transgressive and contestatory.

During the 1880s and 1890s two contrasting movements came into prominence, with Ibsen playing a central part in each. Naturalism and symbolism matured in Paris but quickly circulated throughout the continent and across the Atlantic. Inspired by the example of Flaubert, the claims of literary naturalism were consolidated in the fictional practice (and theory) of the brothers Goncourt and Émile Zola, as well as in the drama of Ibsen and Strindberg produced on the Parisian stage in the 1880s. The naturalist goal was to break free from moralising conventions, to refuse to capitulate to social taboos, to insist on the material/physical substratum of modernity (its economics, its sexuality, its animality) and to assume the rigour and severity of science. In his well-known essay on the 'experimental novel', Zola wrote that under the inspiration of analytic science, the novel too aims 'to possess a knowledge of the mechanism of the phenomena inherent in man, to show the machinery of his intellectual and sensory manifestations, under the influences of heredity and environment'.³ Strindberg, who startled Paris with his naturalist dramas *Miss Julie* and *The Father*, wrote that he found 'the joy of life in its violent and cruel struggles, and my pleasure lies in

knowing something and learning knowledge'.⁴ These naturalist writers shared a sense of urgent vocation that Joyce would feel too: the obligation to destroy the mystifying pieties of a complacent bourgeoisie and to force confrontation with the underlying powers of social life, no matter how sordid they may appear. Naturalism is too often left out of account in the histories of modernism. Yet it is clear that writers who worked under its banner saw themselves, in Joyce's phrase, as heralds of a new order, and created the scenes of outrage that would become distinctive of modernist art.

Symbolism emerged as a self-conscious repudiation of naturalism, the struggles between them prefiguring the many conflicts within the avant-garde that would follow in the twentieth century. Rimbaud's *Une saison en enfer* and major poems by Mallarmé and Verlaine were published in the 1870s. But it was only in the next decade that a sense of artistic collectivity emerged. The self-consciousness of symbolism crystallised around a new notion of the 'ideal', a realm of value beyond sordid materiality, beyond coarse modernity and beyond the programme of naturalism. Gustave Kahn specifically defined symbolism as an 'antinaturalism',⁵ while Mallarmé's famous dictum – 'To *name* the object is to destroy three-quarters of the enjoyment of the poem'⁶ – defiantly refused the representational aims of the naturalists. Evocation, suggestion, incantation were the preferred methods. Again in the words of Mallarmé, the goal was 'to paint not the thing, but the effect the thing produces'.⁷ Symbolism, one might say, divided its fascination between the flawless work, meticulously and musically composed, and all the associations that stir beyond it. Here the operas of Wagner were vastly influential in their spectacular transcendence of realist norms, as well in their summoning of occult forces and mythic powers. Ibsen's later drama, with its inconclusive narrative and its haunting tableaux, was assimilated into this symbolist moment, just as his earlier work had often been taken as the apotheosis of realism.

Arthur Symons, the poet and critic, introduced symbolism to a wider English readership in *The Symbolist Movement in Literature*. Here he railed against the base techniques of Zola ('There is a certain simile in *L'assommoir* used in connection with a bonnet, which seems to me the most abjectly dirty phrase which I have ever read')⁸, and celebrated the symbolist refusal of all that Zola embraced. Symons called for a literature that refused 'exteriority' and the 'materialist tradition', that opened itself to 'every symbol by which the soul of things can be made visible', and that 'in speaking to us so intimately, so solemnly, as only religion had hitherto spoken to us, ... becomes itself a kind of religion, with all the duties and responsibilities of the sacred ritual'.⁹

Yeats was very close to Symons in the 1890s, and his encounter with the French poets discussed in *The Symbolist Movement in Literature* confirmed his resistance to science, materialism and Darwin and gave him a framework for his interests in magic and mysticism. In the spirit of Mallarmé, Yeats called for an imagination that reached beyond the physical senses. But he also committed himself to a specifically Irish poetry and drama, to a national lyric that should be seen in tension with the universality and timelessness of the Symbol. The intersection of symbolist procedures with late-century Ireland stands as a telling moment in the history of modernist poetry. Yeats invests the abstract symbol with content, moreover a content that is saturated with political and cultural specificity. 'My first principle', he wrote in 1897, 'is that poetry must make the land in which we live a holy land', but this principle runs in two directions.¹⁰ On the one hand, Yeats elevates Ireland into the sphere of ancient and abiding symbols, and on the other he brings symbolism into the realm of national life and political struggle. Joyce, of course, would make Ireland and especially Dublin the rooted centre of his work but unlike Yeats, he refused to see that work as a contribution to national identity or ancient folk tradition. It is notable that Joyce chose exile (Europe, internationalism) in the autumn of 1904, just shortly before Yeats and his supporters opened the National Theatre of Ireland at the Abbey Theatre.

The young Joyce worked energetically to locate himself within the unsteady context of the competing new aesthetics. The power of a broad realist movement and its crystallisation in naturalism were both an attraction and a coercion. Along with Ibsen, the 'magnificent writer' Tolstoy, the 'excellent' Maupassant and Gerhart Hauptmann (translated by Joyce) offered rich invitations to the realist tradition. Certainly Joyce was prepared to defend his art in recognisably realist terms, as in the celebrated remark about *Dubliners*: 'I have written it for the most part in a style of scrupulous meanness and with the conviction that he is a very bold man who dares to alter in the presentment, still more to deform, whatever he has seen and heard' (*L* II 134). The austerity of direct presentation ('scrupulous meanness') and the incontestable value of the world as experienced ('seen and heard') clearly belong to a naturalist moment. Stephen Dedalus defines the modern spirit as 'vivisection' (*SH* 186). As opposed to the magical vision of the ancients, modern understanding must be analytic, precise, unblinkered. In the spirit of Zola, Joyce uses the language of science in describing his early fiction. The severity of realism – its caustic refusal of self-deception, inflated rhetoric, foundationless ideals – is a modern inheritance that his fiction will sustain. Yet it is far from being an unchallenged doctrine, and here too Ibsen

plays a striking role in Joyce's developing aesthetic. Crucially, Dedalus resists the identification of Ibsen and Zola, insisting that Ibsen is 'ironical' and not a 'realist like Zola' (*SH* 93). Irony is a way to qualify realism, to take up attitudes and tones toward the givenness of fictional reality. The Stephen Dedalus who praises irony here will increasingly be its victim, as Joyce moves from *Stephen Hero* to *A Portrait*.

This subtle but determined disengagement from naturalism raises the issue of Joyce's relation to its contrary, symbolism. From what we can tell of his early lost poetry, it was composed in the spirit of symbolist evocation and intimation; its very title, *Moods*, is itself characteristic of the 1890s' lyric moment. The published poetry in *Chamber Music*, though no doubt more finished and exacting, also shows the legacy of symbolism, especially of the musicality of Verlaine. But the importance of symbolism for Joyce extends beyond his poetry. The sense of a hidden order in life, a mysterious fatality that drives us to enact and re-enact the imperatives of character – this is part of what Joyce found in symbolism. The early theory of the epiphany must also be placed in relation to symbolist aesthetic. Of Daedalus, the narrator writes that 'By an epiphany he meant a sudden spiritual manifestation, whether in the vulgarity of speech or of gesture or in a memorable phase of the mind itself. He believed that it was for the man of letters to record these epiphanies with extreme care', because in the moment of epiphany we recognise of something that 'it is that thing which it is. It soul, its whatness, leaps to us from the vestment of its appearance. The soul of the commonest object' will then become 'radiant' (*SH* 211, 213). Here Joyce approaches the position that he found in Symons' *Symbolist Movement*, art as taking on the sacred responsibilities of religion. Certainly in *A Portrait*, Stephen Dedalus fully participates in that broad modernist current which sees art, at least art in its highest aspiration, as the historical successor to religion.

Another implication follows from this active unsettled relation to naturalism and symbolism. It concerns the relationship between individuals (and individual works) and the collective movements that were so prominent in the history of modernism. Although Joyce was (and remains) a source of generalisation about modernism and although his work has been taken as definitive of one tendency or another, it is clear that he himself resisted appropriation. His determination to keep Ibsen separate from the category brought forth to explain him (the realism of Zola) is symptomatic, as are the terms in which he first embraced Ibsen, seeing him not as representative of a movement but as a luminous individual, the strong solitary artist that modernity requires. Beyond Ibsen stretched a lineage of heretics, chief among them Giordano Bruno, but all confirming the defiant

artistic independence that kept Joyce suspicious of the collective movements of the avant-garde – even as he, like his Stephen Dedalus, gained conviction from the knowledge that something was stirring ‘out in Europe’.

In one respect there is sheer contingency in Joyce’s separation from his contemporaries. Through the formative years of modernism, Paris was the capital of the avant-garde. The Parisian 1880s and 1890s had been the great period of creation and contention in symbolism and naturalism; they had also seen the experimental drama of Antoine’s Théâtre Libre, which showed the naturalist plays of Ibsen and Strindberg, while Paul Fort’s Théâtre d’Art introduced Maeterlinck’s symbolist drama. After a performance of Ibsen’s *Enemy of the People* in 1893, Parisian anarchists had rioted. Three years later, the first performance of Jarry’s *Ubu roi* incited an uproar that would mark a defining moment in the history of the avant-garde. Its opening line – ‘Merdre’ – condensed transgression into a single word, and those in attendance, including Yeats and Symons, reported twenty minutes of pandemonium in the audience, only slowly subsiding to let the pandemonium resume on stage. Yet by historical accident Joyce’s early visit to Paris in late 1902 and again in 1903 came at a moment of pause in the cultural tumult. Over the next several years the course of avant-garde experiment was broken and uneven. Roger Shattuck has observed that ‘just after the turn of the century, the major literary and artistic movements had come to a standstill. Impressionism in painting, Symbolism and Decadence in poetry, Naturalism in the novel had all run their course.’¹¹ The statement puts the point too strongly, as the careers of Yeats, Strindberg and others show, but it is right to see a time of cultural pause or fatigue, which was partly a result of the accident of life histories: Mallarmé died in 1898, Zola in 1902.

Joyce, then, arrived in Paris at the end of a generational phase of modernism. Moreover, he settled in Trieste shortly before a next wave of radical experiment broke upon the French capital. Henri Matisse and the group that came to be known as ‘les fauves’ (‘the wild beasts’) created the shock of colour set free from verisimilitude, and Picasso was conducting the experiments in perspective and modernist ‘primitivism’ that culminated in ‘Les demoiselles d’Avignon’ in 1907 and led on (with the partnership of Georges Braque) to the breakthrough of cubism. Elsewhere in Europe, Strindberg was writing his late ‘chamber plays’ for the Intimate Theatre founded in 1907, plays such as *The Ghost Sonata*, which stand far from the earlier naturalist drama and helped to inspire a generation of expressionist playwrights who appeared a few years later. In 1908 Schoenberg began the experiments with atonality that would lead to such early milestones as his Second String Quartet and Opus 11 for piano.

In these same years between 1905 and the beginning of the First World War, Guillaume Apollinaire pursued an influential turn in lyric poetry – away from the incantatory suggestiveness of symbolism and toward an encounter with the speed and disorder of modernity. Apollinaire worked to create open forms with sudden shifts in tone and perspective; his central resource is discontinuity: a phrase, a sentence, a sequence of lines that abruptly give way to a next unit. In place of the transcendence of the symbolists, the poetry takes the worldly city as its domain and blithely gives up an effort to wrest coherence from the uproar. In an essay on ‘The New Spirit and the Poets’, Apollinaire writes that the ‘hazardous literary experience’ of modern poetry means that its works ‘are at times anything but lyric’.¹² Joyce’s own break with the swooning, receptive weariness of the fin-de-siècle shares a good deal with Apollinaire’s extravagance, curiosity and his fascination with the spectacle of the city.

Apollinaire has importance for another reason. Apart from his own influential poetry, he became the impresario of Parisian modernism. Like Ezra Pound in London, he recognised the simultaneous changes in many arts alongside literature, especially in the fine arts. Much as Pound forged links between literary imagism and the painting of Wyndham Lewis and the sculpture of Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, so Apollinaire became the friend and sponsor of the cubists and early abstractionists. In a continuous series of essays he explained (and promoted) the new painting, identifying it as a break in sensibility and the movement toward a ‘pure painting’: ‘Verisimilitude no longer has any importance, for the artist sacrifices everything to the composition of the picture. The subject no longer counts, or if it counts, it counts for very little.’¹³ Soon he would celebrate Robert Delaunay as the inventor of ‘simultaneism’: the play of contrasts in colour independent of the claims of a subject. ‘Simultaneity’, exults Apollinaire, ‘is life itself’¹⁴ – an aphorism that could pertain to many modernist artifacts, *Ulysses* high among them.

One other striking event belongs to this cultural moment. In February 1909 *Le Figaro* published on its front page ‘The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism’ by F. T. Marinetti.¹⁵ This brief text should stand alongside Ibsen’s *A Doll’s House* (and his *Ghosts*), Picasso’s ‘Les demoiselles d’Avignon’ and Jarry’s *Ubu roi* as one of the landmark events around which both legend and new artistic practice grew. The first futurist manifesto launched a movement that has rightly been taken as a paradigm of the twentieth-century avant-garde. The memorable document was both a short (very short) story and a list of preemptory demands. The story told of a legendary night of carousing for Marinetti and his friends culminating in a wild ride

on a car. The lure of speed, the fascination with machinery, the power of novelty, these are the elements of the tale, which ends with a series of famous pronouncements, among them a demand to destroy 'museums, libraries, academies of every kind', 'to glorify war', to express 'contempt for women', to celebrate the automobile and the airplane.

The cult of the future, of modernity in its most gleaming technological aspect, contrasts with the modernist primitivism so essential to other strains of experiment. Picasso's breakthrough came with the appropriation and refiguration of works from Africa and Oceania.¹⁶ The masks, the stylised gestures, the open portrayal of the body and its desires – these became sources of inspiration for cubism, as for many other works in this period, including expressionist painting and drama, the music of Stravinsky, the poetry of Eliot and the fiction of D. H. Lawrence. The 'primitive' served as both an 'other' to bourgeois Europe, a source of shock effects and technical experiments, and also as a sign of European mastery. Marinetti too aimed for an 'otherness' to bourgeois complacency, but from the perspective of technology, speed, modernity. The near simultaneity of primitivism and futurism is worth noting, because it suggests a deepening (and widening) radicalism in the avant-garde and also the strongly divergent forms of such a radicalism.

Joyce was not immediately or directly affected by this tumult, typically being dismissive when the work of other living artists was mentioned. Yet he knew well that his success depended on a receptive cultural field, no matter how small and select. His early halting publishing achievement depended on the institution of the little magazines, initially the *Egoist* and the *Little Review* and later *transition* and *transatlantic review*, those collective enterprises so important to modernism and vital to the circulation of Joyce's difficult work.

Édouard Dujardin is an example of a rare contemporary whose influence was openly acknowledged. Joyce pointed to Dujardin's novel *Les Lauriers sont coupés* as the source of the interior monologue, the device that was so richly exploited in the early episodes of *Ulysses*. But Dujardin's novel belongs to a broader tendency in turn-of-the-century narrative, namely the movement toward consciousness and subjectivity as both central themes and principles of form. Part of Henry James' importance to the modernist novel was the abiding insistence on the meaning-giving activity of a central intelligence within the fiction. James' conviction was that events will not speak for themselves; they must be addressed and interpreted by alert fictive respondents, capable of assigning meanings to lived experience. After James, and in large part inspired by his example, Joseph Conrad, Ford Madox

Ford, William Faulkner and Virginia Woolf deepened the fictional resources of subjectivity. Proust was the other massively significant figure in this constellation: in Joyce's words 'no one has taken modern psychology so far, or to such a fine point'.¹⁷ In short, as important as it was as a technical resource for modernist fiction, the interior monologue (which Joyce was willing to abandon when it no longer suited his purposes) should be placed within this wider context of a subjective turn in narrative, toward a limited point of view, unreliable narration, the probing of conscious and unconscious mental life.

At least as important as subjective monologue was the linguistic medium itself, language as an instrument but also a subject in its own right. The late nineteenth century was a great age of philology – with its attention to language as the historical sediment of cultural meaning – while the early twentieth century brought the beginnings of a scientific linguistics with its emphasis on language as a present-tense system of values. Within literature a self-conscious focus on the medium was becoming pervasive. Pound's imagism called for a new discipline and concentration, a purging of rhetoric and excess. Gertrude Stein pressed language to the limits of meaning, breaking apart the integrity of sentences, and she was willing to set aside representation and characterisation in order to test resources inhering within simple words themselves. Hemingway, less radical in his aims, learned from Stein's example and pursued the project in his own way, sustaining representation as a central goal, but with a commitment to directness, precision and austerity. Joyce's career, of course, follows a long trajectory from the goals of representational precision in *Dubliners* toward the exorbitant language that breaks out in *Ulysses* and then extends much further in *Finnegans Wake*. The later extravagance occurs in the context of renewed linguistic experimentalism in the Parisian avant-garde which received the generous sponsorship of Eugene Jolas, who not only published its results in *transition* but also defended and promoted its radicalism in such visionary essays as 'The Revolution of the Word', which saw the remaking of language as the one fundamental and indispensable gesture of modern literature.

This last point suggests another arc of development within early twentieth-century modernism, namely a movement from emphasis on the small self-contained unit – the Image, the epiphany, the short story – toward ambitious, sometimes sprawling, works of synthesis. Eliot's 'The Waste Land', Pound's *Cantos*, Mann's *The Magic Mountain*, Musil's *The Man without Qualities*, Ford's *Parade's End*, Proust's ever-lengthening *In Search of Lost Time*, Picasso's turn to the large canvases of synthetic cubism: all these examples register a tendency toward capacious and encompassing works. Before the war

concentration and limitation were highly praised virtues. The post-war work tends to be synoptic, even encyclopaedic. Yet, the ambitions were almost never the product of traditional narrative development. Eliot had written that the only way to write a successful long poem would be by 'introducing a more impersonal point of view, or splitting it up into various personalities'.¹⁸ Both techniques are employed, but the more striking is the latter, the multiplication of points of view: what one may call modernist *perspectivism*. The world of these post-war works is consistently a construction among multiple points of view, in the form of separate characters, or voices, or just scraps and fragments of language. The question, of course, is what, if anything, holds the diversity together. Eliot's famous solution, formulated as a response to *Ulysses*, was that mythic parallels such as Joyce's use of Homer offered 'a way of controlling, of ordering, of giving a shape', so that 'instead of narrative method, we may now have mythic method'.¹⁹ Yeats, Joyce, Eliot, Mann, Woolf and many others put myth to use, though whether Eliot is right to see Joyce's aim as unity, order and control – rather than one perspective among others – is open to serious doubt.

The period during and after the First World War was the great age of the avant-garde. The various avant-garde sects differed significantly, but they shared a commitment to aesthetic radicalism and direct public challenge. In Germany a number of artists and writers who would come to be called expressionists produced work that was at once representational and yet highly, even grotesquely, stylised, with a heightening of gesture and emotion and the evocative deformation of space and time (the 'Circe' episode in *Ulysses* has often been linked to expressionism). Especially in drama, and later in film, these works often aimed towards the expression of irrational and intuitive states of mind in order to liberate the figure of the 'New Man', the messianic individual who, through the work of deep emotion, strong will and high rhetoric, can perform an ecstatic liberation for modern society. A still more striking avant-garde provocation came with the advent of dadaism, founded by a group of young artists at the Cabaret Voltaire in Zurich in 1916, when Joyce too was living in the city. Performances at the Cabaret included cacophonous music, nonsense poetry, comic recitation and costumed theatricality. In a spirit of antic revulsion against a world that had made such a war, Dada put in question the most central assumptions of Western art: its seriousness, its coherence as an artifact or personal vision, its separation from the everyday social world. An interest in those who had been excluded from the artworld, children and the insane, was one sign of its radicalism, and another sign was the resolve of some Dadaists to see anti-art as a contribution to political revolution.

Although careful to maintain his distance, Joyce was surely conscious of many of these works and events. Frank Budgen reports Joyce asking whether the style of 'Cyclops' was futurist,²⁰ and Joyce's relationship with Pound and Wyndham Lewis kept him in touch with a London-centred modernism. In a letter to his brother in 1920 Joyce asked Stanislaus to squelch rumours circulating in the Irish newspapers, including the suggestion 'That I founded in Zurich the dadaist movement which is now exciting Paris' (*L* III 22). The remark is playful, but it suggests Joyce's consciousness of dadaism and its cultural effects: its taste for outrage, its mockery of fine style, its fondness for extravagant gestures. Given the timing of the letter there is good reason to see dada as a confirming event when, soon afterwards, Joyce turned to the audacities of 'Circe' and the headlines/captions inserted into 'Aeolus'.

Dada has had a long legacy, but it had a short life. After a series of contentious disputes in the early twenties, some of its young French members made an explicit break. Their leader was André Breton, who, as he secured firm allies, offered surrealism as an affirmative movement in contrast to the merely negative critique of dadaism. In what Breton would later call the heroic phase of surrealism, the young adherents to the movement became absorbed in their dreams, spoke in hypnotic states and attempted to record the desires of the unconscious through automatic writing. Working with patients during the war, Breton had used some of Freud's psychoanalytic techniques, and the influence of Freud upon surrealism was profound. The recognition of the centrality of dream life, the claim for a vast realm of unconscious mental existence, the therapeutic value of free association unimpeded by rational thought – these basic principles of psychoanalysis were appropriated for the purposes of cultural revolution.

Joyce avoided the widening surrealist web that extended in Paris during the same long period in which *Finnegans Wake* was being written. As Rabaté has emphasised, his own affinities in the Parisian milieu were rather with Paul Valéry, who upheld values of rigorous literary ambition and intellectual severity.²¹ Yet, Joyce enjoyed the friendship and support of Philippe Soupault, Breton's partner in the founding of surrealism, who helped translate into French the 'Anna Livia Plurabelle' section of the *Wake*. Similarly Joyce's satire of psychoanalysis and his resistance to its scientific ambitions should not obscure the importance of theories of the unconscious both to the inspiration behind his book of the night and also to its reception.

Modernism can no more be given a fixed end than a determinate beginning, but by the 1930s a series of circumstances brought stress to a

cultural episode that had placed so many hopes in the practice of a formally adventurous art. In the face of evident global emergency – the crisis of economic depression and the imminence of a Second World War, but also the new absorptive powers of a culture that had once been threatened by modernist disruption – the boundary between art and politics, never fixed or secure, grew even weaker. Demands for engagement were felt on every side. With varying degrees of conviction Pound, Yeats and Eliot drew toward reactionary politics, while others, including the surrealists, saw an alliance between innovative art and communist revolution. Joyce, holding himself aloof, wrote the work that can be called a summa of the culture of experiment. That it was followed so closely by a catastrophic war is a reminder that even the most defiant Modernism lived within contexts larger than its own.

NOTES

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3. Émile Zola, *The Experimental Novel and Other Essays*, trans. B. M. Sherman (New York: Cassell, 1893), p. 18.
4. August Strindberg, *Plays*, trans. Edwin Björkman (London: Duckworth, 1913), p. 98.
5. Gustave Kahn, quoted in René Wellek, 'What is Symbolism', in Anna Balakian, ed., *The Symbolist Movement in the Literature of the European Languages* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), p. 23.
6. Stéphane Mallarmé, *Œuvres complètes* (Paris: Édition de la Pléiade, 1961), p. 1538.
7. Stéphane Mallarmé, *Correspondance: 1862–1871* (Paris: Édition de la Pléiade, 1959), p. 137.
8. Arthur Symons, *The Symbolist Movement in Literature* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1958), p. 159.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
10. W. B. Yeats, *The Land of Heart's Desire*, ed. Jared Curtis (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), p. xxv.
11. Roger Shattuck, 'Foreword', in *Apollinaire on Art: Essays and Reviews 1902–1918*, ed. LeRoy C. Breunig, trans. Susan Suleiman (Boston: MFA Publications, 2001), p. xiv.
12. Guillaume Apollinaire, 'The New Spirit and the Poets', in *Selected Writings*, trans. Roger Shattuck (London: Harvill Press, 1950), p. 231.
13. *Apollinaire on Art: Essays and Reviews 1902–1918*, ed. Breunig, trans. Suleiman, p. 197.

14. Guillaume Apollinaire, 'Reality, Pure Painting', in *Apollinaire on Art: Essays and Reviews 1902–1918*, ed. Breunig, trans. Suleiman, p. 265.
15. *Marinetti: Selected Writings*, ed. R. W. Flint, trans. R. W. Flint and Arthur Coppotelli (London: Secker & Warburg, 1972), pp. 39–44.
16. See Simon Gikandi, 'Picasso, Africa, and the Schemata of Difference', *Modernism/Modernity* 10.3 (2003): 455–80.
17. Arthur Power, *Conversations with James Joyce* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1999), p. 90.
18. T. S. Eliot, 'William Blake', in *Selected Essays* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1950), p. 278.
19. T. S. Eliot, 'Ulysses, Order and Myth', *Dial* 75 (November 1923): 480–3.
20. Frank Budgen, *James Joyce and the Making of 'Ulysses', and Other Writings* [1934] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 153.
21. Jean-Michel Rabaté, 'Joyce the Parisian' in Derek Attridge, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 95–6.

*Music**Timothy Martin*

It is readily apparent to any reader that a musical sensibility lies behind the poetry, drama and fiction of James Joyce. Joyce's characters include concert pianists, church musicians, professional singers, voice teachers and even a blind piano tuner. Ordinary Dubliners in his fiction have long memories of the musical life of their city, a canny awareness of the idiosyncrasies of singers and the ability to perform in company when asked to do so. Joyce's characters also have unusually good ears: Stephen Dedalus, in *A Portrait*, can identify the birdcall from Wagner's *Siegfried* (*P* 258) and describe a musical motive interval by interval (*P* 179), while even a non-musician like Leopold Bloom can hum opera tunes (*U* 5.228), hear three-quarter time in the clanking of press machinery (7.101) and identify harmonic overtones in the chiming of a church bell (4.549–50). 'Clay', 'A Mother' and 'The Dead' revolve around musical performances, and a mundane meeting about a concert programme creates a pretext for the most significant event of a warm June day in 1904 Dublin. Bits of music or whole songs, one composed by Joyce himself, are printed in musical notation in both *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*. The sound of music is registered in Joyce's rhythmic prose and evoked, continually, in readers who share his love of music.¹

The attraction to music as what Joseph Conrad called the 'art of arts' was a constant in European literature, beginning as early as the Romantic movement and extending well into the twentieth century. The symbolists were preoccupied with the notion that poetry should be suggestively and mysteriously musical. Critics in France and England imagined that if all art aspires to the condition of music, as Walter Pater had famously claimed, then literature could be judged in relation to a musical standard. (George Moore removed a story from one of his collections because he decided it 'lacked melody'.) Writers like Moore, Thomas Mann and André Gide would attempt to structure their work by analogy with musical forms. The status of music as the supreme – perhaps even the transcendent – art was sustained by two major factors. First, as music was detached from mimetic

theories of art in the late eighteenth century, it came to be regarded as more pure than literature and the visual arts because it seemed to represent nothing but itself; form and subject matter, surface and depth were one. To claim an affiliation with music was, for literary artists, a way to assert the autonomy and supremacy of their art. Second, with the Romantic movement and its emphasis on feeling, spontaneity and the self, music became associated with an expressionist aesthetic; its primary function was to express or to arouse emotion. If earlier literature had focused on the intellectual and rational, on the external life, modernist writers of fiction would focus on internal experience, on the life of the psyche; they would enter the domain, as they had defined it, of music. 'After the symphonies of Beethoven', George Bernard Shaw wrote in *The Perfect Wagnerite*, 'it was certain that the poetry that lies too deep for words does not lie too deep for music.'² Music was thus the exceptional art not only for its formalism but also for its power to express pure feeling.

As a young man, and especially as a university student in Dublin, Joyce was immersed in the contemporary literature of Europe, a devoted reader of Moore, Gabriele D'Annunzio, Arthur Symons and other writers who had attempted to make their work musical in structure or theme or had written on the interrelations of the arts. Like many of these figures, the young Joyce would invoke the prestige of music in order to praise, however vaguely, artists whose work he admired: Defoe for a narrative style that is 'majestic ... and orchestral' (*OCPW* 170), Ibsen for the 'orchestral harmony' of his plays (*L* 1 52). A key passage from part four of *A Portrait*, when Stephen draws 'forth a phrase from his treasure' and imagines that '[t]he phrase and the day and the scene harmonised in a chord', captures the mood of the era and shows Stephen's awareness of the prevailing association of interiority and artistic autonomy with music (see *P* 180–1). Among the European writers whom the young Joyce read avidly was Edouard Dujardin, whose novel *Les lauriers sont coupés* Joyce would credit as the inspiration for the internal monologue of *Ulysses*. Dujardin himself would claim that his attempt to represent the flow of conscious thought derived from the 'continuous melody' of Wagner's musical scores. Indeed, Wagner was a central figure in nineteenth-century aesthetics: an idealist and revolutionary who was studied and borrowed by progressive movements across Europe, the founder of his own temple of Art at Bayreuth, a personification of the Romantic ideal of individual genius. The attraction of poets and other writers to Wagner, a phenomenon known as 'literary Wagnerism', largely explains Joyce's own considerable interest, especially as a young man, in the German composer. In Trieste he owned more books by or about Wagner – including scores,

librettos, prose writings and books of criticism – than any other figure except Shakespeare.

But Joyce's experience of music was not merely a bookish, secondhand affair; rather, it was shaped by formal training, experience as a performer and considerable exposure to musical repertoire in the theatre. Joyce was born into a family of amateur musicians, and he inherited a fine tenor voice from his father. At the age of six he sang in a concert with his parents, and by his early teens he was reading opera scores and singing arias in company. Joyce studied voice in both Dublin and Trieste, and several teachers – represented, perhaps, by a character called Almidano Artifoni who confronts Stephen in 'Wandering Rocks' – encouraged him to take seriously his prospects for a career. Among the highlights of his life as a performer were a bronze medal in the 1904 Feis Ceoil in Dublin, a concert appearance with John McCormack in the same year and, in 1909, a performance in Trieste of the memorable quintet from Wagner's *Die Meistersinger*, a fairly sophisticated undertaking for an amateur musician. It has often been said that Joyce devoted himself, during his Paris years, to the career of John Sullivan with such abandon because he saw in his fellow Irish tenor an outlet for his own frustrated ambitions.³ 'Perhaps', he once told Sylvia Beach, 'I would have done better'.⁴ But there are large obstacles between a native talent and a successful career as a performer, and enough qualifications in the various accounts of Joyce's vocal ability (see, for example, *JJ* 409) to give us perspective, if, given his eventual contributions to literature, any were needed. Joyce would certainly *not* have done better as a singer.⁵

Living in cities with vigorous musical and theatrical traditions, Joyce and his family were regulars at the theatre and at the opera house in particular.⁶ Indeed, Joyce's musical tastes would always centre around opera, mostly Irish song and liturgical music. There is little evidence that he cared for orchestral or chamber music or, his own experimental approach to fiction notwithstanding, that he followed the musical avant-garde with much interest. He complimented Swiss composer Othmar Schoeck on his ability to write for the voice, contrasting him with Stravinsky, whose music, he claimed, 'not even a canary could sing' (*JJ* 669). Singers are omnipresent in Joyce's works, but violinists and pianists, except as accompanists, are rare. Louis Gillet, an associate of Joyce in Paris, has left an excellent summary of the Irish writer's musical tastes. He reports that Joyce 'could not stand modern music' and that he 'doted upon singing', preferring *bel canto* to any other sort of opera and 'adoring Rossini, Meyerbeer, Verdi ... He knew how many high-C's there were in all the scores'.⁷ On one occasion, Joyce went meticulously through the score of Rossini's *William Tell*, counting the high

notes of his Irish friend, tenor John Sullivan – ‘456 Gs, 93 A-flats, 92 As, 54 B-flats, 15 Bs, 19 Cs and 2 C-sharps. Nobody else can do it’ (*JJ* 620). Despite his interest in Wagner as a cultural figure, Joyce did not care much for the German composer’s music, with the exception of *Die Meistersinger*. After all, Wagner had made Rossini and Meyerbeer his whipping boys and done his best, in his polemical writings and in his own work, to steer opera from the traditions of *bel canto*. But Joyce was ‘mad’ for opera, as George Antheil described him, in any case: in Trieste in 1907, he attended at least four performances of the first full production, in Italy, of Wagner’s *Parsifal*, a work that can stretch to nearly six hours; the next year, somewhat more consistently with his general musical tastes, he attended eight performances of Puccini’s *La Bohème* in two weeks.⁸ In any case, because of his pre-eminence as a cultural figure and his unique status as both composer and librettist of his work, Wagner would exert more influence on Joyce than did any other composer, including all those whom Joyce professed to admire.⁹

We may think of the musical presence in Joyce’s work as taking three distinct forms. These relate to its texture, its structure and its ethos or general character. Musical allusions, emerging from the circumstances of Joyce’s plots or rising in the minds of Joyce’s characters, contribute to the texture of his work. They are grounded in the bits of text and references to characters, composers and artists that Joyce wove into his prose, but they also evoke thematic material and the general musical tradition with which they are associated. Over the years Joyce scholars – most notably Ruth Bauerle, Zack Bowen, Matthew Hodgart and Mabel Worthington – have unearthed a huge number of allusions that reflect Joyce’s lifelong experience of opera, the music hall and pantomime, liturgical music and popular song. Some, like those to ‘The Lass of Aughrim’ and *Don Giovanni*, are important because they are significant in the plot of the work and central to its themes; some, like those to Thomas Moore’s *Irish Melodies* and ‘The House that Jack Built’, because they are so numerous; and others, like those to ‘Finnegan’s Wake’ and *Tristan und Isolde*, because they are crucially involved in the genesis of the work. References to opera and operetta are somewhat less numerous in Joyce than are references to popular song, but they are generally richer because they evoke larger artistic works and carry more cultural weight. As Ruth Bauerle has pointed out, some allusions, especially in *Finnegans Wake*, are made through imitation of rhythmic patterns rather than by replication of text (that is, by sound rather than sense).¹⁰ Bauerle, too, in an essay on ‘Musical Delusions in *Finnegans Wake*’, has illustrated the problem of identifying allusions of any kind in so unconventional a work.¹¹

The unprecedented incidence of musical reference in Joyce, including allusion to opera, which was not the highbrow affair in Joyce's time that it often seems today, illustrates perhaps better than any other factor one of the fundamental ironies of his work: that popular culture should be so pervasive in writing that has been largely inaccessible to ordinary people. 'Finnegan's Wake' and *Finnegans Wake* seem, culturally, incommensurable.

A second, much smaller, contribution to Joyce's work involves musical structures or techniques. If musical allusions, contributing to the texture of a work, are essentially intertextual, adaptations of musical forms and techniques, contributing to its structure, may be described as intermedial.¹² Many European writers immediately before and during Joyce's time applied or at least imagined applying musical forms to fiction: Thomas Mann is supposed to have constructed *Tonio Kröger* according to the principles of sonata form; Aldous Huxley, in *Point Counter Point*, speculated on the idea of contrapuntal plots; George Moore developed a narrative style in imitation of Wagner's distinctive *arioso*. In his conversation or correspondence with friends and associates, Joyce is not recorded as claiming, except in the case of 'Sirens', to have applied specific musical techniques to his work, but his orientation toward music and his immersion in the artistic trends of his time have prompted much discussion of the subject. Nor did Joyce apparently discourage speculation on the presence of musical forms in his work, as Stuart Gilbert's and Frank Budgen's early criticism shows. Numerous parallels to music have been claimed for Joyce's work: *Ulysses* as a whole has been described as an example of sonata form; the multiple meanings or 'polysemantics' of the *Wake* likened to musical counterpoint; the alternation between narrative and lyric modes in 'Cyclops' compared to recitative and aria. Perhaps most persuasively, the literary leitmotif, which attracted the interest of Zola, D'Annunzio, Dujardin, Mann and others, has been cited as a source of unity in Joyce's work, achieving what Forster described in *Aspects of the Novel* as 'rhythm', since at least as early as the publication of Gilbert's study. Joyce's critics have deployed the term variously, citing the repetition of themes and allusions or defining a more strict Wagnerian approach that takes the literary text as parallel to the musical score and emphasises the recurrence of distinctive phrases like 'agenbite of inwit' and 'O felix culpa'. If Joyce's musical allusions mark his relation to popular culture, his intermedial impulses represent his affiliations with a more highbrow literary modernism.

The question of a musical character or ethos is more abstract and elusive. How did Joyce's innate musicality and his experience of music in performance shape, more generally, his work? Certainly there is a musicality reflected

in the tonal and rhythmic qualities of Joyce's language, in his sound as opposed to his sense. Stephen, in treasuring his 'day of dappled seaborne clouds', admits that he 'love[d] the rhythmic rise and fall of words better than their associations of legend and colour' (P 180). Indeed, *Finnegans Wake*, perhaps more than any other work of fiction, depends, for basic comprehension, on rhythm, on the recognition of familiar patterns of syllables. And when comprehension fails, as it often does, the pleasure of reading the *Wake* derives more from the sound of the prose than from its meaning. It is the aural quality of Joyce's writing, from the beginning to the end of his career, that makes it as compelling when read aloud as that of any prose stylist, a phenomenon that is reflected in the widespread practice of staging or otherwise performing Joyce's fiction.

Among the arts music is distinctive, if not entirely unique, in its contingency, its dependence on the circumstances of live performance. Music does not come to its audience in the abstract or purely in the imagination, but brings the conventions and traditions of the opera house, the music hall and the concert stage with it. Joyce's love of music is entangled with his love of the theatre, and some of the most distinctive qualities of his writing may be thought of as performative or theatrical – its extravagance, its impulse toward parody, its generic and stylistic multiplicity and its tendency to fall out of narrative character, a temptation to which Joyce succumbs at only a few points in the relatively restrained *Dubliners* but of which he makes a supreme virtue in *Ulysses*. The title of Joyce's early book of poems, *Chamber Music*, hints at a principle that Joyce would put radically into effect in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*: that, like an operatic aria, a music hall number, or a *fuga per canonem*, a literary work of art is a thing to be performed and a demonstration of skill.

In his schemata for *Ulysses*, Joyce made music the 'art' of 'Sirens', and this episode remains the locus classicus for discussions of music in his work. It involves a singsong in a Dublin pub, and it represents the point in Joyce's corpus where his intermedial impulses are most explicit. 'I wrote this chapter', he told a friend in 1919, 'with the technical resources of music. It is a fugue with all musical notations: *piano*, *forte*, *rallentando*, and so on. A quintet occurs in it, too, as in *Die Meistersinger*, my favorite Wagnerian opera' (JJ 459). The most important musical allusions in 'Sirens', involving five songs or arias sung or simply registered in thought, represent the range of Joyce's musical interests well: 'Tutto è sciolto' (from *La sonnambula*), 'M'appari' (from Flotow's *Martha*), 'Love and War' (a concert duet by an early nineteenth-century Irish composer), 'Goodbye, Sweetheart, Goodbye' (a popular song of the same era) and 'The Croppy Boy' (a sentimental Irish

political ballad).¹³ The world of music and of the musical theatre has suggested numerous analogies for the chapter's fragmentary introduction: that of an orchestra tuning up for a performance; an overture to an opera or operetta; a list of leitmotifs as are often found inside the score to a Wagner opera; a shorthand prescription, called a 'canon' in the medieval era, for the realisation of a work; and even a 'basic set' or 'tone row' providing the raw material for a twentieth-century serial composition.¹⁴ Of special interest in 'Sirens' is the elusive *fuga per canonem*, which the schemata list as the 'technique' of the chapter and on the presence of which Joyce insisted when he claimed the episode included 'all the eight regular parts' of this form (*L* 1 129). Speculation on what Joyce construed the *fuga per canonem* and its parts to be and on how they may have been embodied in the episode has now been circumscribed by the recent discovery, among papers Joyce left with the Léon family in Paris, of an early draft of 'Sirens' that includes a list, on the first page, of eight items under the heading *fuga per canonem*. The list raises questions of its own, and it does not tell us how the episode may have incorporated the individual items, but it is consistent with Stuart Gilbert's sketchy, and now apparently authoritative, discussion of the subject in *James Joyce's 'Ulysses'*.¹⁵

Finally, a subject that is in a sense penumbral to a discussion of contexts for Joyce involves his reception by composers and musicians during his lifetime and after. Inspired not only by the musicality of Joyce's writing but also by his status as a cultural icon, twentieth-century composers of all stripes have set passages of his prose and poetry to music, followed his example in the use of parody, allusion and heterogeneous styles, imitated his accretive methods of composition or felt themselves generally inspired by his image as a revolutionary artist.¹⁶ On at least two occasions, Joyce encouraged composers who approached him directly about his work, corresponding with fellow Irishman G. Molyneux Palmer about settings of *Chamber Music* and, laying aside his disregard for contemporary music, collaborating with George Antheil, the self-styled 'bad boy' of American music, on plans for an opera based on 'Cyclops'.¹⁷ Lyrical settings by Samuel Barber and Vincent Persichetti are perhaps best known among singers, while works like John Cage's *Roaratorio*, Luciano Berio's *Thema (Omaggio a Joyce)* and John Buller's *Mime of Mick, Nick and the Maggies* show his presence among the avant-garde. The interest of these and other experimental composers in Joyce's work points to another irony, that the Irish writer should have been so attractive to composers for whose work he would almost certainly not have otherwise cared. A distinctive aspect of Joyce's reception has been a tradition of performance and recording, undertaken in some cases by

amateur musicians, not only of musical settings of Joyce's texts but also of musical allusions in Joyce's works and of Joyce's own musical favourites. These gestures toward Joyce's musicality involve concerts at Joyce meetings, recordings made privately and circulated among Joyceans and commercial productions that include, perhaps most memorably, Zack Bowen's Folkways recordings of text and musical allusions in five episodes from *Ulysses*.

The study of interrelations between music and literature is subject to many qualifications. On one hand, much of what we commonly regard as musical is simply a matter of convention. There is nothing inherently musical, for example, about devices like sonata form and the leitmotif, both of which depend on a principle of theme and variation. In fact, the appeal of the leitmotif to Joyce and other writers doubtless owes a good deal to its apparent origin as a device with literary properties. Wagner himself felt that the use of leitmotifs made his orchestra the musical counterpart of the Greek chorus, while Thomas Mann thought that the source of the leitmotif was the Homeric epithet. Similarly, the study of musical allusions is not distinct, methodologically, from the study of literary allusions: it is a study of texts that have been set to music, of characters who appear in these texts and of related themes. A snippet from Benedict's *Lily of Killarney* is essentially the equivalent of a quotation from Dion Boucicault's *Colleen Bawn*; an allusion to *The Marriage of Figaro* involves, strictly speaking, the librettist Da Ponte as much as it does Mozart. It might be argued that the allusion is qualitatively musical when it actually evokes a melody and its theatrical context in the mind of a certain reader, but, depending on individual reader response, it is only potentially so. On the other hand, qualities inherent in music do separate it, ultimately, from other arts. Despite Joyce's own apparent belief that the musical effects of 'Sirens' exceed those of Wagner's *Die Walküre* (JJ 460) and though he was willing to claim that *Finnegans Wake* is 'pure music' (JJ 703), there can be no question that Joyce's prose actually achieves the condition of music in any fully satisfying sense. In 'Sirens' coinages and anomalous phrases like endlessnessnessness' (U 11.750), 'Blmstdp' (11.1126) and 'wavyavyeavyheavyeavyvyevy hair un comb:d' (11.809) may evoke, for some readers, a fermata, an open fifth and a trill and its resolution, but no student or lover of music would consider them to be equivalents;¹⁸ nor can he or she actually experience the episode as a fugue. Joyce's achievement in 'Sirens' was less to make writing musical than to exploit musical awareness, analogy and allusion in order to foreground the properties that music and language share; music emerges in 'Sirens' as Joyce's primary tool in his interrogation

of traditional ways of reading and making meaning.¹⁹ In fact, Jean-Michel Rabaté has argued that classical rhetoric describes the ‘musical’ figures of ‘Sirens’ better than musicology does.²⁰ The question, in any case, is not so much whether Joyce’s writing is qualitatively musical than how his experience of music and impulse toward musical expression shaped his work. There is no doubt that it did so, both profoundly and pervasively.

NOTES

1. This essay naturally borrows material from my own previous work on Joyce and music: from *Joyce and Wagner: A Study of Influence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), chs. 1 and 6; and ‘Operatic Joyce’, *JJQ* 38.1–2 (2000–1): 25–43.
2. *The Perfect Wagnerite: A Commentary on ‘The Niblung’s Ring’*, 4 edn [1923] (New York: Dover, 1967), p. 117.
3. Joyce’s devotion to Sullivan, friendship with John McCormack and interest in Enrico Caruso are discussed in Matthew J. C. Hodgart and Ruth Bauerle, *Joyce’s Grand Operoar: Opera in ‘Finnegans Wake’* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), pp. 75–92.
4. Sylvia Beach, *Shakespeare and Company* (New York: Harcourt, 1959), p. 44.
5. A brighter assessment of Joyce’s potential as a professional singer may be found in Hodgart and Bauerle, *Joyce’s Grand Operoar*, pp. 70–4.
6. On opera life in Dublin see Seamus Reilly, ‘James Joyce and Dublin Opera, 1888–1904’, in Sebastian D. G. Knowles, ed. *Bronze by Gold: The Music of Joyce* (New York: Garland, 1999), pp. 3–31. On opera life in Trieste, see John McCourt, ‘Joyce’s Trieste: *Città Musicalissima*’, in Knowles, ed., *Bronze by Gold*, pp. 33–56. On pantomime and the music hall in Dublin, see Cheryl Herr, *Joyce’s Anatomy of Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), chs. 3–5.
7. See Willard Potts, ed. *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1979), p. 168.
8. McCourt, ‘Joyce’s Trieste’, pp. 47, 50. Antheil describes Joyce’s ‘madness’ for opera in *Bad Boy of Music* [1945] (New York: DaCapo, 1981), p. 153.
9. For these reasons Wagner is – and will probably remain – the only figure from the world of music whose influence on Joyce has been assessed in a book-length study: my own *Joyce and Wagner*.
10. Introduction to Ruth H. Bauerle, ed., *Picking up Airs: Hearing the Music in Joyce’s Text* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), pp. 2, 139–40.
11. ‘It Ain’t Necessarily So: Musical Delusions in *Finnegans Wake*’, in Bauerle, ed., *Picking up Airs*, pp. 198–201.
12. The distinction between intertextuality and intermediality appears in Werner Wolf, ‘Intermedialität als neues Paradigma der Literaturwissenschaft?’, cited in Bernfried Nugel, ‘James Joyce, Mastersinger: Echoes and Resonances of Richard Wagner’s *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*’, *JJQ* 38.1–2 (2000–1): 46.

13. See Zack Bowen, 'The Bronzegold Sirensong: A Musical Analysis of the Sirens Episode of *Ulysses*', in *Bloom's Old Sweet Song: Essays on Joyce and Music* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), p. 27.
14. On the medieval canon, see Heath Lees, 'The Introduction to "Sirens" and the *Fuga per canonem*', *JJQ* 22.1 (1984): 39–54; on tone rows, see David Herman, "'Sirens" after Schönberg', *JJQ* 31.4 (1994): 473–94. Herman does not make the claim that 'Sirens' was influenced by Schönberg's experiments in atonal composition. Rather, he represents the relationship as one of confluence between two innovators interested in creating analogous effects.
15. A partial transcript of the *fuga per canonem* notes is available in Michael Groden, 'The National Library of Ireland's New Joyce Materials: A Statement and Document Descriptions', *JJQ* 39.1 (2001): 43–4. Gilbert's discussion of the subject is in *James Joyce's 'Ulysses': A Study* [1930] (New York: Vintage, 1955), pp. 252–3.
16. For an excellent summary see Scott Klein, 'Joyce and Avant-Garde Music', 2004 (Contemporary Music Centre Ireland, 12 April 2007, www.cmc.ie/articles/article850.html#ref7).
17. Myra T. Russel published an account of her discovery of Palmer's settings, as well as the songs themselves, in *James Joyce's 'Chamber Music': The Lost Song Settings* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993). On Joyce's collaboration with Antheil see Paul Martin, "Mr Bloom and the Cyclops": Joyce and Antheil's Unfinished "Opéra Mécanique", in Knowles, ed., *Bronze by Gold*, pp. 91–105; and Mauro Piccinini, "Non più andrai farfallone rumoroso" – "You Will Go No More, Noisy Butterfly": Joyce and Antheil', *JML* 26 (2002): 73–89.
18. These parallels are suggested by Gilbert, in *Joyce's 'Ulysses'*, pp. 254–5.
19. The essential point of an essay by Brad Bucknell, "'Sirens" and the Problem of Literary and Musical Understanding', in *Literary Modernism and Musical Aesthetics: Pater, Pound, Joyce, and Stein* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 121–61.
20. Jean-Michel Rabaté, 'The Silence of the Sirens', in Morris Beja, et al., eds., *James Joyce: The Centennial Symposium* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), pp. 82–8.

*Irish and European politics: nationalism,
socialism, empire*

Brian G. Caraher

I

Benedict Anderson has maintained that notions of nationhood and constructions of nationalism derive from a mode of collective imagination. Anderson contends that 'a nation' comprises an 'imagined political community' in the sense that its constituent members will never know or come into direct contact with the vast majority of their imagined or virtual associates. However, ideologically they commune with one another, indeed among themselves alone, in a manner that constitutes the communal framework for the sense of nationhood. The material basis for this imagined national unity of consciousness, according to Anderson, is a consequence of 'print-capitalism'.¹ Accessible, mass-market script enables the creation and maintenance of exchange and ongoing communication among people who will never meet one another in person. However, this bourgeois and distinctly state-oriented construction of 'nation', nationhood and nationalism neglects local, linguistic, ironic and playful constructions of nationality in the interests of fore-grounding proto-imperial representations of a national imaginary. Joyce would dissent.

Joyce's political writings, moreover, provide some of the more telling instances of his attitudes toward nationalism, socialism and empire and point toward the constellations of these political aspirations in his more revered literary works.² A quotation in Irish-American dialect of 1890s Chicago and from a world of literary journalism well known to Joyce the literary author and political journalist, though, affords a starting-point:

I know histry isn't throe, Hinmissy, because it ain't like what I see ivry day in Halsted Shreet. If any wan comes along with a histry iv Greece or Rome that'll show me th' people fightin', getting dhrunk, makin' love, getting' married, owin' th' grocery man an' bein' without hard-coal, I'll believe they was a Greece or Rome, but not before. Historyans is like doctors. They are always lookin' fr symptoms. Those iv them that writes about their own times examines th' tongue an' feels th'

pulse an' makes a wrong dygnosis. Th' other kind iv histry is a post-mortem examination. It tells ye what a country died iv. But I'd like to know what it lived iv.³

So says Martin J. Dooley, the 'wise fool' of Bridgeport, south-west Chicago, fictional creation and sixty-year-old smiling publican voice of the once hugely influential American journalist Finley Peter Dunne. Hundreds of newspaper pieces by Dunne featuring the character, dialect and caustic views of Mr Dooley had appeared in the *Chicago Evening Post* since 1893 and collections of these weekly pieces under titles such as *Mr Dooley in Peace and War* (New York, 1898; London, 1899) *Mr Dooley in the Hearts of His Countrymen* (New York, 1899; London, 1900) and *Observations of Mr Dooley* (New York, 1902; London, 1903) circulated as best-sellers in both the United States and the United Kingdom. Billy Jerome even composed the popular music-hall song 'Mr Dooley' in 1901 in celebration of Dunne's unwittingly wise pacifist publican. Indeed Richard Ellmann records the fact that James Joyce would sing Billy Jerome's 'Mr Dooley' to his language students in Trieste in the long, tense months leading up to the outbreak of the First World War (*JJ* 341). Joyce's own wonderfully comic and cutting appropriation of the voice and character of Mr Dooley in 'Dooleysprudence' relocates Dunne's Dooley from Chicago to Zurich, London and Dublin in the fateful year of action 1916:

Who is the man when all the gallant nations run to war
Goes home to have his dinner by the very first cablecar
And as he eats his canteloup contorts himself in mirth
To read the blatant bulletins of the rulers of the earth?
It's Mr Dooley,
Mr Dooley,
The coolest chap our country ever knew. (CW 246)

Finley Peter Dunne's Martin J. Dooley has been rightly regarded by critics as 'the first truly memorable Irish character in American literature' and his evocation of Bridgeport as 'the first fully realized ethnic neighborhood' in American writing.⁴ Yet the space and time of Dunne's texts are perhaps difficult to confine to an American literary regionalism given their international readership. Joyce's political and polemical repositioning of Mr Dooley to the streets of Europe endorses this view.

Joyce also invokes Mr Dooley and his working-class customer and fellow social democrat Mr Malachi Hennessy in the opening pages of *Finnegans Wake* during the hugely comical 'Willingdone Museyroom' episode: 'This is hiena hinnessy laughing alout at the Willingdone. This is lipsyg Dooley krieging the funk from the hinnessy' (*FW* 10.4–5). Joyce sets the anti-war

laughter of Dooley and Hennessy amid the implements and monuments of European imperial wars as the readers of the *Wake* are forced through a strange conflation of the Wellington Museum on Hyde Park Corner, London, and the Wellington Monument in Phoenix Park, Dublin. Such Joycean transatlantic confluence leads one to recognise that Joyce's imagination of Earwicker's pub in Chapelizod – so central to the dreamscape of *Finnegans Wake* – is in no small measure modelled on Mr Dooley's public house and Finley Peter Dunne's constant flow of characters, stories, voices and arguments on the shores of the south branch of the Chicago River. The space, time, textuality and nationality of Joyce's text would seem difficult to restrict to national or nationalist borders of convenience. Nationalism in Joyce constitutes an imagined social and political identity, but one whose public narratives and political imaginary are always under playful scrutiny and provocative critique. Like Dunne's Dooley, Joyce's voices poke sorely needed fun at 'the rulers of the earth' and the 'blatant bulletins' of nationalist identity politics, national needs and imperial wars.

II

Dominic Manganiello's *Joyce's Politics* charts in detail the Irish author's itinerary of social and political thought. Manganiello discusses Joyce's avid interest in the theories and political conventions of Triestine Irredentists as well as Italian and international socialists. He notes that Joyce's regard for these developments, however, was refracted through idiosyncratic prisms of concern. For instance, the Irredentists fore-grounded the nationalist notion of Trieste as an occupied, unredeemed city in the thrall of a foreign language and culture; and socialist thought regularly drew analogies to the figure of Christ.⁵ Joyce recognised his native city of Dublin as well as an Irish ideology of martyrdom in such material. Indeed, Joyce's own political acts were not so much in line with socialist thought as acts of conscientious resistance to religious, statist and domestic tyrannies that threatened to trap the life of the individual. These acts were achieved in and through his literary writings conducted in exile. As Manganiello states, Joyce's

art would now supplant a religious conscience which he thought paralyzed and stifled the will to live. Joyce viewed his contemporaries as 'dead souls' ... who abdicated their individuality by going through the motions of living ... In setting himself against Church, fatherland, family and friends Joyce was not being apolitical. Exile did not mean escape but a widening of political consciousness; it did not mean indifference but preserving his intimacy with his country by intensifying his quarrel with her.⁶

This position shares much with international socialism. However, Manganiello strongly links this form of political consciousness with the kind of individualist anarchism espoused by the nineteenth-century American writer Benjamin Tucker, author of the playfully inventive *Instead of a Book by a Man too Busy to Write One* (1897). Joyce apparently found Tucker's thought compelling, and Manganiello detects numerous affinities between Tucker's political thinking and Joyce's early university essay 'Force', *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*.⁷ In place of the coercive tyrannies of existing social and political institutions, the individualist anarchist as artist employs the resisting power of the clarifying and redeeming word. Manganiello phrases this situation of political resistance by echoing Stephen's words to Cranly in the twenty-fourth chapter of *Stephen Hero*: 'the artist as literary Messiah reconstructs the spectacle of redemption and legitimizes his role of redeemer in his works by affirming that which presumptive States and presumptive Churches negate'.⁸ Joyce articulated a position of anti-bourgeois and anti-authoritarian resistance, but he located the source and focus of such political consciousness not in an international collective of workers but in an empowering individualism that he personally regarded as his own 'redeemer' – the term he uses in the sixteenth chapter of *Stephen Hero* (SH 34). Joyce's aesthetic articulations are best understood in terms of anarchist ideals of individualism, freedom and resistance to various forms of authoritarian force. Indeed, his intellectual position seems most akin to that expressed by Oscar Wilde in his *Fortnightly Review* essay of February 1891, 'The Soul of Man under Socialism': 'Joyce probably realized for the first time in Wilde's tract that his demand for absolute freedom to accomplish his aesthetic aims could be made consonant with the political views of Tucker, who stressed respect for individual liberties.'⁹

In *James Joyce and the Question of History* James Fairhall not only underscores these views but indicates Joyce's intention to translate Wilde's treatise into Italian in 1909 and its bearing on the interpretation of the three 'masters' in whose service Stephen Dedalus finds himself in the first episode of *Ulysses*.¹⁰ Fairhall offers a circumspect examination of Joyce's 'literary politics'.¹¹ He explores the meaning of 'the word "socialism" ... in a Joycean context' and recognises that Joyce's 'socialism had roots in his youth', expressly shown in a range of literary and social activities in which the young artist participated during the years 1901 to 1906 in Dublin, Pola, Trieste and Rome.¹² Joyce's attendance at the Italian Socialist Party Congress in Rome in October 1906 appears to mark a personal peak of interest in socialist politics, yet in writing to his brother Stanislaus in March 1907 'Joyce seemed to turn away from politics'.¹³ The individualist, pacifist and

anarchist strands of Joyce's early and continuing political thought are given their due and help account for 'the protean, undoctrinaire nature of Joyce's socialism'.¹⁴ The political infighting, short-termism and willingness to betray leaders and sacrifice colleagues Joyce witnessed first in Irish and then in Italian parliamentary and socialist contexts spoiled any uncritical commitment to a national or international form of socialism.

Fairhall infers rightly the general non-political drift of Joyce's letter to his brother Stanislaus in early March 1907. However, the context of the letter is worth noting. Joyce despairs of his dreary work as a bank clerk in Rome; Nora and he are expecting their second child, and there is little money. He has received another rejection letter regarding *Dubliners* and the page-proofs for *Chamber Music* in 'the same post'. Impulsively Joyce plans to leave Rome 'for an unknown destination', perhaps Marseilles, in order 'to live in a warm town by the sea where [he] could write and think at leisure' (SL 151-4). This lengthy letter to Stanislaus exhibits Joyce's anxieties about his vocation as a writer pitted against the mean realities of his life in Rome: 'I have come to the conclusion that it is about time I made up my mind whether I am to become a writer or a patient Cousins' (SL 151). He fears 'mental extinction' if he keeps to his current job as a clerk, and it is in this context that he admits to his brother that even his interest in politics has waned: 'It is months since I have written a line and even reading tires me. The interest I took in socialism and the rest has left me. I have gradually slid down until I have ceased to take interest in any subject' (SL 151). He admits that only the cinema or 'some crude Italian gazette-picture' breaks through this intellectual torpor. However, the fact that he has the page-proofs of *Chamber Music* to correct, that he is a frustrated yet still publishable author, motivates him:

Yet I have certain ideas I would like to give form to: not as a doctrine but as the continuation of the expression of myself which I now see I began in *Chamber Music*. These ideas or instincts or intuitions or impulses may be purely personal. I have no wish to codify myself as anarchist or socialist or reactionary. (SL 151-2)

Though he refuses to 'codify' himself doctrinally as some specific type of political advocate, European politics is not so much rejected here as seen as part of a formative milieu from which Joyce currently feels estranged.

Once quit of Rome and back in Trieste, Joyce recasts various types of nineteenth-century literary and sexual rebels in pursuit of his own early images of rebellion, Dedalian images strongly marked by the mundane vitality of sexual desires in their own human and natural right. Thus the Byronic, Dumasian, Meredithian, Wildean and Decadent literary postures

of Stephen Dedalus in *Stephen Hero*, *A Portrait* and *Ulysses* comprise both socially critical and autobiographically agonistic poses in a developing cultural politics. This very literary sexual rebel entertains yet resists the solicitous arguments of the Jesuit director regarding the sacramental powers of priestly celibacy, the domestic platitudes of Cranly concerning familial fealty and the egocentric and oligarchic machismo of Malachi Mulligan. Joyce's demystification of the rhetorics which idealise sexuality and sublimate sexual desires, according to Fairhall, must be seen as of a piece with a fuller range of Joycean literary revolution:

In *Ulysses* the discourses of British colonialism, Irish nationalism, low-brow popular magazines, the Celtic twilight, Catholicism, and other belief systems all have their say, yet all are unmasked and demonstrated to be 'inadequate to reality'. The critic trying to identify Joyce with any particular discourse faces an impossible task, since no one discourse is privileged or indeed has any meaning except in dialogue with other discourses.¹⁵

Joyce's late, major acts of literary revolution, for Fairhall, enact a rather Bakhtinian mode of questioning – a 'virtually endless dialogism,' once Joyce begins to construct the polyphony of *Finnegans Wake*. Joyce's cultural politics may share in the broad outlines of a general disillusionment consequent upon the betrayals of international socialism in the early years of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, in Fairhall's persuasive reading, 'however we try to define his ambivalent, elusive politics', Joyce 'was in any event not a passive esthete, but a literary revolutionist for whom writing represented the supreme political act'.¹⁶

III

For scholars of Joycean cultural politics there may be nothing more bracing than repeated examination of newspaper articles and university lectures that Joyce wrote in 1907, 1910 and 1912. In these occasional, often opportunistic writings Joyce exhibits a set of political analyses and moderations of socialist and multiculturalist thought which directly engages political and cultural issues in Irish history, past and present. Joyce's numerous articles for the popular Triestine Irredentist newspaper *Il Piccolo della Sera* commence in March 1907, the month of his family's return from the financially disappointing excursion to Rome. This month marks the moment, of course, in which Fairhall has detected Joyce's 'disillusionment' with politics crystallising. Disillusionment there is; yet it is rendered forceful and articulate as Joyce pursues in his adopted language of Italian a set of cultural studies of

Irish politics within the immediate contexts of John O'Leary's death on Saint Patrick's Day 1907 and the third Irish Home Rule debate of 1910–12. These articles, and two lectures Joyce composed for the Università Popolare in April 1907, tend to be plundered for the occasional citation or anecdote, yet they comprise probing and occasionally prophetic analyses of Irish cultural politics within an international, European perspective.

The first article for *Il Piccolo della Sera*, 'Fenianism; The Last Fenian', was published five days after the death of John O'Leary in Dublin on 17 March 1907 and examines the changing fortunes since 1845 of two traditions or doctrines of 'the struggle' of 'the Irish nation against the English government' – namely, 'the moderate nationalists and the so-called physical force party'. Joyce recognises O'Leary as 'perhaps the last actor in the turbulent drama that was Fenianism' or 'the traditional doctrine of physical force' (*OCPW* 138–9). However, unlike William Butler Yeats, who in 'September 1913' berates the Dublin mercantile classes for their neglect of a 'Romantic Ireland' exemplified in the 'dead and gone' figure of O'Leary, Joyce reads the fate of 'the last' of the nineteenth-century Fenians as emblematic of the bitter sacrifice and betrayal that awaits strong Irish secular leadership (*OCPW* 139). Only in his old age, 'after years of studious exile in Paris', O'Leary returns home to discover 'himself in the midst of a generation inspired by ideals that were quite different from those of '65', that is to say, different from 'the traditional doctrine of physical force' (*OCPW* 140, 139). Joyce regards nineteenth-century Fenianism as 'an extremist and bloody doctrine' whose time has long gone (*OCPW* 140). However, a new and twentieth-century form of 'Fenianism' appears to merit Joyce's attention and implied approval for its non-violent policies of forceful implementation:

Fenianism has once again changed its name and form. It is still a separatist doctrine but it no longer uses dynamite. The new Fenians have regrouped in a party called 'ourselves alone'. They aim to make Ireland a bilingual republic, and, to this end, they have established a direct ferry link between Ireland and France. They boycott English goods, they refuse to become soldiers or swear an oath of allegiance to the British crown. They are attempting to develop the industry of the whole country and, rather than fork out one and a quarter millions each year to maintain the eighty deputies in the English parliament, they want to institute a consular service in the principal world ports with the aim of merchandising industrial produce, without the intervention of England. (*OCPW* 140)

This broadly composite portrait of Arthur Griffith's new, non-violent yet obstructionist party Sinn Féin selects and blends features that appealed to its author. The abjuration of the use of violent means toward political ends is

paramount. Boycotts, acts of civil disobedience, conscientious objection to military service and to imperial wars, development of cottage industries and industrial self-promotion are the forceful yet non-violent measures that would comprise the arsenal of new tactics in pursuit of Irish autonomy.

Moreover, in this composite portrait of Griffith's Sinn Féin, there is the all-important touch of the Joycean tongue-in-cheek: 'They aim to make Ireland a bilingual republic, and, to this end, they have established a direct ferry link between Ireland and France.' This cutting aside strikes at the insular ultra-nationalism of the Gaelic League and the 'Irish Ireland' movement while indicating that real bilingualism in Ireland must be modern and forward-looking. Joyce intimates that modern Irish statecraft and wordcraft might take republican France and modern European languages as models and not necessarily, and certainly not exclusively, Old Ireland and Gaelic. Glimpses in *Stephen Hero* of the Anglophobic yet Anglophone Mr Hughes, loosely based upon the Gaelic Leaguer Padraic Pearse, is another, though more dramatic and culturally resonant way to make Joyce's point here. Hughes promotes the cultural politics of a tongue he can barely parse at the expense of a tongue through which he speaks, orates, harangues and versifies (*SH* 59–62, 82–3, 103). Bearing himself a very British patronym, Hughes 'wanted no foreign filth' (*SH* 103); but Joyce spells out the ironies and self-contradictions of ultra-nationalist cultural puritanism. Instead, the cultural politics of Arthur Griffith, at least as Joyce read and constructed them in 1907, embody a modern and international way forward for Ireland.

Joyce's lecture at the Università Popolare di Trieste on 27 April 1907, 'Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages', provides a portrait of a developing national ethos: 'the roots of the Irish temperament' and the multicultural and multiethnic complexities of 'the new Irish nation' (*OCPW* 114–15). The trajectory of Joyce's expository argument surveys early formations of national character, cultural assimilation and colonised subjectivity – the last topic iterated passionately in 'Ireland at the Bar' in September 1907 through the tale of Myles Joyce's prosecution in 1882. James Joyce sketches modern Irish economic politics, the politics of retrograde religious traditions and the tactics of contemporary cultural revitalisation (*OCPW* 116–26). He speaks of successive waves of cultural assimilation within Ireland and of cultural interaction with the rest of Europe. Such historical facts for him help constitute the moral and political texture of ancient, medieval and modern Ireland alike. Moreover, Joyce would soon dramatise these social and intercultural realities in a deeply ethical manner in the Anglo-Hibernian (Gabriel Conroy), Helleno-Hibernian (Stephen Dedalus), Hungaro-Hibernian (Leopold Bloom), Anglo-Iberian and Anglo-Hibernian (Marion/Molly

Tweedy Bloom) as well as Dano-Hibernian (H. C. Earwicker) matrices of his major literary characters. 'Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages' comprises the most sustained public exposition Joyce offers concerning the still politically evolving 'conscience' of his 'race'.

Left now in a severely fragmentary state, Joyce's second lecture for the Università Popolare, 'James Clarence Mangan', written in April 1907 but never delivered, proposes a similarly ambitious account of the development of ancient, medieval and modern contexts and traditions of Irish writing (*OCPW* 127–36). Like O'Leary 'the last Fenian', Mangan is the last of a once forceful but now exhausted 'tradition upon which no divine hand has drawn the line of demarcation, a tradition which dissolves and divides against itself as it moves down the cycles' (*OCPW* 135–6). Modern Irish poets must seek new paths. However, Joyce's argument is not funnelled in an exclusively literary vein. He chafes against 'a hysteric nationalism' that would prolong into the twentieth century the etiolated tradition of Mangan and the heroic balladry of 'wrongs and sufferings', 'of nobly suffered misfortunes and such irreparable devastations of the soul' (*OCPW* 136, 135). Such an arrested cultural politics would forge the wrong sort of modern Irish poet and wrong sort of political future: 'the poet who hurls his anger against tyrants would establish upon the future an intimate and far more cruel tyranny' (*OCPW* 136). Like Stephen Dedalus in the second chapter of *Ulysses* parrying the anti-Semitism of the dour Ulsterman Mr Deasy, Joyce refuses to speak for or in the name of a cultural politics of blame, complaint, social hatred and counter-posed ethnic or nationalist codes of revenge. To do so would entail a recurring tyranny of political nightmares and predetermined cultural fates: 'Glorious, pious and immortal memory. The lodge of Diamond in Armagh the splendid behung with corpses of papishes. Hoarse, masked and armed, the planters' covenant. The black north and true blue bible. Croppies lie down' (*U* 2.273–6). Through such verbal pyrotechnics the emotional and intellectual resistance of Stephen Dedalus to the rude plots of an Irish past becomes articulated. Joyce mocks any 'vision' of history in which only the 'glorious' sins and sorrows of the past will be permitted to shape the cultural plots and historical cycles of the future. Indeed Joyce intimates only general paralysis of the insane, G. P. I. ('Glorious, pious and immortal memory'), for those unwilling to forgo the past and forge new paths.

What Joyce as a journalist of cultural politics will speak for are a set of interlocking issues brought to the fore by the UK House of Commons' debates on the third Irish Home Rule Bill and the sense of crisis brought on by its passage in 1912. Four of his *Il Piccolo della Sera* articles and a

sub-editorial he wrote for the Dublin newspaper *Freeman's Journal* reflect his views on the immanence of 'Irish autonomy' and the social and economic realities that must be faced if it were to have any serious chance of success (OCPW 209). The dissolution of the British government twice within a year over the intransigency of the House of Lords regarding budgetary and social reform precipitated parliamentary elections in January and December 1910. After the second election the relatively new British Labour Party (founded 1900) and the Irish Nationalists led by John Redmond held even stronger hands in forming a new government with the Liberal Party led by Herbert Henry Asquith and David Lloyd George. Moreover, the election of December 1910 was generally fought over the issue of reforming the House of Lords so that progressive budgetary and social legislation would not be overridden in the future. Extremely bitter parliamentary manoeuvring issued in curtailing the legislative veto of the House of Lords in August 1911. The latter constitutional change soon opened the way to a variety of reform bills in the Commons, including the third attempt at Irish Home Rule. Joyce's caustic analysis of the chances of political success for 'The Home Rule Comet' sighted in the parliamentary heavens 'on or about December 1910', is played out spectacularly in 'The Shade of Parnell', published in *Il Piccolo della Sera* on 16 May 1912, one week after the third Irish Home Rule Bill cleared the House of Commons following bitter and contentious debate. As in the past, the House of Lords refused to approve the bill, but the veto, owing to the reform legislation of 1911, would expire within two years. In other words, Irish Home Rule was set to become a constitutional reality by September 1914. Joyce's article reflects full awareness of these parliamentary events and constitutional eventualities, but he strives to set them within a cultural context ghosted by the 'dead and gone' Charles Stewart Parnell and the political machinations that produced and undermined the first Home Rule Bill in the 1880s. Joyce is forthright yet gently mocking about the debt owed to William Gladstone, about the demoted status of a greatly reduced cohort of Irish Members of Parliament after the anticipated devolution, and about the massive debt and burden of taxation (a 'Greek gift') that 'the future Irish government' will be immediately saddled with by 'the British treasury' (OCPW 191). Still Joyce asserts: 'No matter: the appearance of autonomy is there' (OCPW 193). The tone of voice here is immensely complex. Indeed there is mockery, even disillusionment, but also the sense that an important concession has been made regardless of the years of belligerency and the economic Trojan Horse through which Irish national 'autonomy' would be

delivered. In language that foreshadows the hyperbolic rhetoric of the 'Cyclops' episode and the expressionist fantasia of the 'Circe' chapter of *Ulysses*, Joyce anticipates without illusions the projected advent of Irish Home Rule in 1914:

In two years' time at the latest, with or without the assent of the House of Lords, the doors of the old parliament in Dublin will reopen, and Ireland, freed from her century-long imprisonment, will set out towards the palace like a new bride accompanied by music and nuptial torches. A grand-nephew of Gladstone (if there is one) will scatter flowers beneath the feet of the sovereign, but there will be a shade at the feast – the shade of Charles Parnell. (*OCPW* 193)

There is a telling echo of *Macbeth* in that final clause: the ghost of the betrayed Banquo appears at the feast, which should seal the accession to royal power of his bloody-minded friend and betrayer. Likewise the ghost of the betrayed Parnell will haunt 1914 and any celebration of a belated change in constitutional status for Ireland.

Joyce's deep regard for Parnell risks easy solicitude and ideological misconstruction. His partisan portrait of Parnell, a portrayal that occupies the final two-thirds of 'The Shade of Parnell', searches for 'the greatness of this strange spirit' and 'the extraordinary personality of a leader' (*OCPW* 193). Joyce desires to honour the spirit, the character and the ethical force of a secular leader and to do so in full recognition of his defects – defects that contemporaneous ideologues and later historical revisionists would overlay in the interests of dispelling the ghost of Parnellism. Joyce recollects Parnell's flawed oratory and English mannerisms, his tardiness and aloofness, his silence in the face of generosity, his cunning and cool perseverance in pushing aside the malicious accusations of *The Times* regarding the Phoenix Park murders of 1882 (*OCPW* 194). Joyce admires 'the forlorn serenity of his [Parnell's] character' and the strangeness 'of this intellectual phenomenon in the midst of the stifling morals of Westminster' (*OCPW* 194). Indeed, for the thirty-year-old Joyce, Parnell remains a real-to-life Ibsenite hero. Joyce's Parnell is a confident man of the people who generates real political power and real social consequences:

Six years after entering Westminster, he already held the destiny of the government in his hands. He was imprisoned, but from his cell in Kilmainham he concluded a pact with the ministers who had jailed him [April 1882]. When the attempt at blackmail failed with the confession and suicide of [the Irish journalist Richard] Pigott, the Liberal government offered him a portfolio. Not only did Parnell turn it down, but he ordered all his followers likewise to refuse any ministerial post whatsoever, and forbade the municipalities and public corporations in Ireland

from officially receiving any member of the British royal family until a British government restored autonomy to Ireland. The Liberals were forced to accept these humiliating conditions, and Gladstone, in 1886, read the first Home Rule Bill before parliament. (*OCPW* 195)

Joyce takes an intense personal and political interest in the character of an Ibsenite public actor and builder of political opportunities for constitutional and national reformation. The intensely charismatic and unselfish 'influence that Parnell exercised over the Irish people defies the critic's analysis' because it reveals an utterly unlikely yet keenly loyal Irish Moses, who like the old patriarch of the Pentateuch 'led a turbulent and volatile people out of the house of shame to the edge of the Promised Land' (*OCPW* 193). Parnell spelt pride, leadership, loyalty, wilfulness and the refusal to settle for 'English' constructions of Irishness, Irish cultural ethos, Irish character and Irish 'crime'. Joyce passionately evokes an image of secular, Anglophone and Irish leadership in 'The Shade of Parnell' and laments its premature loss. Joyce's Parnell is a strong yet flawed public actor who negotiates Irish nationalism and nationality within the larger fabric of progressive social reform and the internal social and constitutional reformation of the British Empire. Joyce seeks to debunk this vicious ideology of nationality and imagined national community.

'The Shade of Parnell' exhibits complete revulsion towards the ritual national sacrifice of a secular Irish leader. Joyce's Parnell is an unlikely social innovator. He is a flawed and all-too-human modern hero who breaks with tradition and the status quo and shows a way forward, toward the new and even the unknown, toward a modern sense and possibility of Irishness and Irish national autonomy. Joyce projects upon Parnell's character a melancholic foreknowledge of the social shape which betrayal and blood-sacrifice will assume because both know with 'desolating certainty' the political unconscious of a socially divided, quasi-colonial and constitutionally disenfranchised Ireland. Joyce's newspaper article eulogises Parnell but also evokes the need for belief in, loyalty toward and enduring commitment to secular leadership and innovation free from a destructive imagination of nationhood. 'Parnell' in Joyce's writings embodies the prototype of Irish social empowerment and of Irish social catastrophe. Even the young school-boy Dedalus intuits this nightmarish convergence of social hope and social disaster in his dream of an heroic 'wake' populated by Brother Michael, Dante and keening crowds welcoming the dead Parnell back to Dublin (*P* 27). The hinge, the pivot of cultural choice, tends to be *either* allegiance to entrenched interests and reactionary ideologies *or* commitment to innovation and enfranchisement. Joyce suggests a choice here, a crucial choice

of cultural politics. One can remain rooted in traditions of belligerence, intransigence, blood-sacrifice and the recurring national drama of redemption and martyrology; *or* one can follow the artificers of change, the master builders of social conscience and constitutional reform. Joyce numbers his Parnell among the latter, but names and mourns him as another victim of the former ideology's invidious cultural politics of nationhood.

The anxious uncertainty troubling the invocation that forms Stephen Dedalus' final diary entry in *A Portrait* projects one strongly symbolic moment of the personal pain that can be caused by having to choose between two social dynamics. 'Old father, old artificer, stand me now and ever in good stead' yields a line, composed in Trieste, which invokes the protective guidance of a patronymic master builder through the voice of a son who dreads Icarian and messianic self-immolation (*P* 276). Joyce suggests resonantly, painfully and symbolically an anxious choice of mutually imbricated personal vocation and cultural politics. Moreover, in *Ulysses* Joyce decodes and parodies both 'Northern' (Mr Deasy) and 'Southern' (The Citizen) Irish versions of the invidious cultural politics of blood-sacrifice and nationhood.¹⁷ The latter are twinned versions of the same cultural politics that destroyed Parnell: nationalist messianism in the service of imagined national community. Joyce seeks to debunk this vicious ideology of nationality and imagined national community.

Joyce's occasional, journalistic publications reveal him as fully engaged politically, both as an astute reader of Irish cultural, historical and political developments and as an insightful revisionist of received views regarding national autonomy, culture, industry, nationality, religion, secularism and crime in Ireland. Readers of Joyce's consummately articulated cultural politics may thus recognise him projecting a thoroughly pragmatic political stance on the margins of European socialist thought and before an audience of newspaper readers. Joyce reads and refines retrospectively facts of Irish culture and history in order to project a pragmatic (and not programmatic) form of national autonomy for Ireland within a context of anarcho-socialist ideals of political conduct, international and multicultural realities of social and commercial conduct, and the Anglophone modernity of contemporary Irish life. Joyce's mode of socialism is closer to that espoused by Oscar Wilde in 'The Soul of Man under Socialism', as Manganiello noted, than to any national or international programme of socialism promulgated in the early years of the twentieth century. During the years 1907–12, in particular, Joyce began to read and interpret Irish history and cultural politics differently. His Italian writings exhibit in detail an Irishman working his way through the seemingly intractable thickets of regressive cultural politics in

Ireland and the United Kingdom and proposing practical ways to handle social and economic materialities of Irish national autonomy. Joyce's Anglophone fiction, which started to be published far and wide in 1914, sustains and enriches this close engagement with the reading of Irish history and the interpretation of Irish cultural politics begun in and through newspapers and popular journalism. It also projects critically and playfully an imagined community of individuals, actors, heroes, leaders, dreamers, talkers, drinkers, thinkers and wanderers who reveal what an odd, frail, tentative construction a 'nation' or an 'empire' seems.

NOTES

1. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edn (London: Verso, 1991), p. 44.
2. See Brian G. Caraher, 'Cultural Politics and the Reading of "Joyce": Cultural Semiotics, Socialism, Irish Autonomy, and "Scritti Italiani"', *JJQ* 36.2 (1999): 171–214, and *idem*, 'Trieste, Dublin, Galway: Joyce, Journalism, 1912', in Anne Fogarty and Timothy Martin, eds., *Joyce on the Threshold* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), pp. 132–50, for fuller explorations of Joyce's political writings and cultural politics.
3. Finley Peter Dunne, *Mr Dooley and the Chicago Irish*, ed. Charles Fanning (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1987), p. xxiii.
4. See *ibid.*, p. xiii.
5. See Dominic Manganiello, *Joyce's Politics* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), pp. 43–66.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 40–1.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 74–5.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 74–5; *SH*, 186.
9. Manganiello, *Joyce's Politics*, pp. 220–2.
10. James Fairhall, *James Joyce and the Question of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 51, 55.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 40–63.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 49–50.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
17. See Thomas Hofheinz, 'Joyce's Northern Ireland', in John Brannigan, Geoff Ward and Julian Wolfreys, eds., *Re-Joyce: Text, Culture, Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 35–44.

*Newspapers and popular culture**R. Brandon Kershner*

Joyce's work, especially *Ulysses*, is packed with references to popular culture of all sorts and from a variety of social levels – newspapers and magazines (including 'penny dreadfuls'), popular novels (from romance to pornography) and plays, advertisements, entertainments of all sorts, from the music hall and pantomime to local concerts such as we see in 'A Mother'. Events such as the Gordon Bennett car race in 'After the Race' or the bazaar in 'Araby' certainly qualify, as does much of the 'street furniture' that Joyce evokes, such as the Turkish Baths where Bloom refreshes himself. Also under the rubric of popular culture are well-known figures of the day as difficult to classify as Eugen Sandow the bodybuilder (who upon examination turns out to be an author, magazine publisher, musician, advisor to the King and a US President, and founder of a series of exercise salons for men and women – as well as being Bloom's chosen physical trainer).

If Theosophy may be seen as a variety of religion and thus belongs to a high cultural category, surely the late Victorian bourgeois vogue for spiritualism to which Joyce alludes in 'Scylla and Charybdis' is also a form of popular culture, as are celebrity priests such as the egregious 'Father Purdon' of 'Grace' who elicit a reaction from their following not unlike that evoked by a matinee idol of the time such as Martin Harvey. Indeed, even Irish folklore has been called popular culture,¹ although this is not a reading that has been much explored by avowed cultural studies scholars, who have a preference for material culture, for the many aspects of what Barthes described as popular mythology. Finally, it is arguable that much of the casual detritus of everyday life that Joyce portrays, such as Maria's plumcake or her purse with the legend '*A Present from Belfast*', is as significant and complex in its network of social meanings as are a series of allusions to Hamlet or recurrent images of birds. Garry Leonard has argued that the interaction of Joyce's characters with the trivial and ephemeral impedimenta of their lives – the 'commodity culture' that helps define them – shows something more fundamental about them in their roles as social and political beings than do their loftier thoughts.²

Given today's critical climate, students often find it strange that until about the mid-1980s, with the notable exception of popular song, little work was done on the subject of popular culture in Joyce. This was in great part a function of the critical approach and general intellectual climate dominant in both the UK and the US from roughly the 1930s to the early 1960s. As Patrick Brantlinger shows, for centuries the characterisation of popular (or, more pejoratively, 'mass') culture as a kind of *panem et circenses* was articulated by both the political right and the left. In the early twentieth century, the intellectual consensus more or less defined elite culture by contrasting it with the other.³ In the Anglo-American context, the dominant conception of elite culture most immediately descended from Matthew Arnold. An influential adaptation of this perspective was that of F. R. and Queenie Leavis, who were partly responsible for the formation of 'Cambridge English'. Mrs Leavis, in her study of modern popular fiction, remarked that while great novels 'allow the reader to live at the expense of an unusually intelligent and sensitive mind, by giving him access to a finer code than his own', popular novels 'substitute an emotional code which ... is actually inferior to the traditional code of the illiterate'.⁴ Leavis here makes the gesture typical of artists and thinkers we would now classify as conservative modernists: she praises (though faintly) 'genuine' working-class culture in order to attack middle-brow or bourgeois commodified corruptions of it. In a similar way, Eliot praised the music-hall singer Marie Lloyd while Yeats looked to the innate wisdom and instinctive imaginative grace of the peasantry to save his country from the shopkeepers.

In retrospect it is hardly surprising that during a period in which the study of English and American literature was attempting to establish itself within academia, the professoriate should have taken a conservative position with regard to which cultural objects were worthy of study and explication. Joyce himself was already a controversial artist, with his *Ulysses* having officially been condemned as obscene; in reaction, his defenders downplayed his bawdy humour and his obvious fascination with the trivial and the mundane – the very texture of imaginative life in Edwardian Dublin – in order to highlight his intellectual complexity, his wealth of significant allusions to the greats of literature (especially Homer and Shakespeare) and to Catholic theologians, and of course his mastery and innovation in novelistic form. All this can, perhaps, be read as an illustration of Andreas Huyssen's argument that modernism codes the popular as female in order to dismiss it and set it against the (male) masterworks of the twentieth century.⁵ It might be more accurate to say that modernism as it was constructed by the ethical formalisms of Cambridge English and the New Critics does this. More

recent critics disagree; some feel that Eliot's praise of Joyce in his essay 'Ulysses, Order and Myth' for 'making the modern world possible for art'⁶ was misdirected, in that Joyce was not trying to show how the heroic Homeric world had degenerated, but how it had shifted into a new key.

By the 1960s the critical perspective had begun to change. In the UK the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham encouraged the serious social analysis of what Paddy Whannel and Stuart Hall termed the popular arts.⁷ In the US the most influential figures to urge an academic reappraisal of popular culture were probably Marshall McLuhan and the maverick intellectual Leslie Fiedler, both of whom were interested in Joyce. In his 1984 essay entitled 'To Whom Does Joyce Belong? *Ulysses* as Parody, Pop and Porn',⁸ Fiedler argues that Joyce in fact embraced a broad span of culture in *Ulysses* and more or less equated all levels of cultural expression in the *Wake*, so that Tim Finnegan of the barroom ballad is equated to Finn MacCool of Irish mythology, among many others. In retrospect, it is apparent that Fiedler was suggesting some of the qualities and attitudes that would come to be attributed to post-modern art, especially the intermixture of elite and popular genres. During the 1960s and 1970s the (mostly European) rise of structuralist criticism, especially that of Roland Barthes and Umberto Eco, demonstrated that cultural artifacts of many different 'levels' were equally susceptible to analysis, from Proust to Superman. As Jim Collins comments, 'The significance of this emerging school of cultural analysis comes from its recognition that all cultural production must be seen as a set of power relations that produce particular forms of subjectivity, but that the nature, function, and uses of mass culture can no longer be conceived in a monolithic manner.'⁹

The first important work on Joyce to emerge from this critical shift was Cheryl Herr's *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture*. Her thesis in this volume is 'that the daily newspaper, the popular play, and the sermon are ... signs for the institutions whose ideological practices they embody and articulate. The process of allusion in Joyce points to the cultural dynamics by which these major institutions competed for power over the demotic mind'.¹⁰ Adopting the Marxist cultural semiotics of Juri Lotman and Boris Uspensky, Herr argues that Joyce's texts, especially through their allusions to popular culture in the three areas above, 'reveal the fissures in his society's structure and the contradictions between its prevailing attitudes and historical realities'.¹¹ Apart from her theoretical sophistication, one of the reasons Herr's book had such an impact on the field was the quantity of archival research she undertook, especially in the pantomime and music hall. Examining all of Joyce's works from *Dubliners* stories through the *Wake*, she demonstrates

how Joyce's deployment of sermons and the popular press highlighted the cultural contradictions of late Victorian and Edwardian Dublin. Herr concentrates thematically on the issue of censorship in her treatment of the press and demonstrates the deep involvement of speech from the pulpit, despite its putative spirituality, with advertisement and the economic system. But probably the most influential section of *Anatomy* deals with gender confusion on the popular stage, especially the pantomime and music hall. She argues that just at the period when British society as a whole was most threatened by the confusion in gender roles, and in official processes, such as the trial and punishment of Wilde, was punishing transgressors most violently, the most popular performers on the stage were males impersonating females and females impersonating males. Joyce alludes to some of these (such as the 'Widow Twankey'), but perhaps the most surprising aspect of Herr's work is the implication that by laying bare this contradiction, the popular arts here do the same cultural work Joyce's elite art does, as social critique. This is the reverse of what most of the Frankfurt School theorists, especially Horkheimer and Adorno, would argue, since for them mass culture is intimately involved with ideology and unlike serious art cannot function as a critique of it.¹²

Herr's *For the Land they Loved*,¹³ a collection of Irish political melodramas with an analytic introduction, continued her research into Irish popular culture, but was not directly involved with Joyce. Stephen Watt in *Joyce, O'Casey, and the Irish Theater* follows Herr in finding a potential for critique in the popular theatre of Joyce's time, and argues against the dismissal of Irish popular drama: 'the very conventions of popular drama most modernists revile actually form the provenance of the popular theater's potential to construct representations of history and to inflect human subjectivity'.¹⁴ He concentrates on the 'New Woman' drama, which had a significant influence on the young Joyce. Like Herr's, Watt's book includes a good deal of archival research into the plays of Joyce's childhood; both volumes, in retrospect, can be seen as part of the refiguring of many basic principles of modernism – especially with regard to its relationship to popular culture – that occupied academia during the late 1980s and the 1990s. The collection of essays Watt co-edited with Kevin Dettmar entitled *Marketing Modernisms*¹⁵ was a further example of this trend.

My own book *Joyce, Bakhtin, and Popular Literature* (1989)¹⁶ was more narrowly focused, dealing only with the early work up through the play *Exiles* and concentrating on Joyce's references to popular literature. I study well-known references such as Dumas' *Count of Monte Cristo* as well as the more obscure plays to which Stephen takes his family in *Portrait*, such as

Ingomar the Barbarian, and even the children's texts he studies, like the Peter Parley tales. I attempt to examine the apparently casual references in the *Dubliners* stories – the books left behind by the dead priest in 'Araby,' for example – for evidence that the relationship of these texts to Joyce's could be termed 'dialogical' and that thematically or textually they interact in unexpectedly rich and complex ways with Joyce's books. While most of the books I discuss are specifically alluded to in *Dubliners* or *Portrait*, some, such as Tom Greer's popular novel *A Modern Dedalus*, are what I term 'implicit allusions'. One such is *Tom Brown's School Days*, the original school story with which all subsequent school stories, including *Portrait*, are necessarily in dialogue. Others are books we know to have been in Joyce's library whose trace is arguably present in his writing, such as several French novels showing the struggles of an adolescent with Catholicism. Throughout, my assumption is that the more interesting of the popular texts with which Joyce engages, such as the *Count of Monte Cristo*, on examination show the same sort of ambiguities, complexities and significant lacunae that we see in Joyce's very different texts, as both kinds of writing embody a struggle with similar cultural currents.

Once we move from *A Portrait* to *Ulysses*, we find the advertising canvasser Bloom beginning to displace the aspiring artist, and Joyce's interest in advertising as what Foucault would term a 'discourse' is apparent. Jennifer Wicke's important book *Advertising Fictions* had a strong impact on Joyce studies with its chapter concentrating on Gerty MacDowell and its argument that the novel and advertising are parallel discourses. Further, she argues, *contra* the Frankfurt school, that there is a liberatory potential in the more post-modern characteristics of advertising discourse which, like writing, 'presages the "death of the human subject" of contemporary theory ... and offers a glimpse, however fallen, of the utopian powers of collective consciousness in a mass age'.¹⁷ Wicke's controversial work was followed by an unusually interesting special issue of the *James Joyce Quarterly* in 1993 on 'Joyce and Advertising' edited by Wicke and Garry Leonard,¹⁸ including essays addressing advertising and commodification from perspectives ranging from the Marxist to the semiotic to the Lacanian, but never simply approaching these cultural symptoms as unalloyed ills. Following and expanding on Wicke's work, Leonard's *Advertising and Commodity Culture in Joyce* (1998) explores a broad spectrum of popular culture, arguing that in the twentieth century all the 'official' metanarratives, such as history or the implicit narrative of canonical art, are challenged by popular culture, which offers in its stead an array of trivial, transient objects that embody what Leonard terms 'the history of now'.¹⁹ As in his earlier criticism Leonard still relies on

Lacan to a degree, but broadens his interest to the implications of popular culture for the construction of gender and subjectivity, the policing of desire and the politicising of aesthetics.

One of Leonard's major themes is the way in which advertising has supplanted religion in the modern world, and calls forth similar responses. Among other places, he finds this theme worked out in 'Nausicaa', an episode which has, over the years, inspired a great deal of writing dealing with popular culture, including Suzette Henke's chapter in *Women in Joyce*. Henke posits what is probably the consensus position, that Gerty has been lamed by her *bovarisme* (for instance her adoption of the world-view of the Gerty of Maria Cummins's *The Lamplighter*) and her subjection to advertisements which she is unable to criticise or resist.²⁰ Leonard's reading of the chapter goes in a different direction, staking out new territory and suggesting that Gerty is in fact at home in this world in which she too is a commodity forced to participate in a virtual exchange system. He stresses her understanding of the cultural codes that determine Bloom's responses to her, and argues that the magazines, novels and advertisements to which she makes frequent mental reference function as a kind of owner's manual for her commodified body. Nor is she simply a victim. Gerty 'does not lean back because she is sexually promiscuous; she does so because she has found a worthy consumer with whom she is conducting a marketing test in order to determine the desirability of her product'.²¹

Leonard's focus in this book and in much of his recent work is global: he is re-drawing the maps of modernity – and, more often, post-modernity – by way of Joyce's confrontation with and literary deployment of the minutiae of popular culture. But the majority of work done in the field is more piecemeal in approach, as in the multiauthor collections I edited entitled *Joyce and Popular Culture* and *Cultural Studies of James Joyce*.²² The earlier volume includes a study of Joyce's relationship to popular culture in the context of political theory, a survey of the boys' magazines that appear in 'Araby', a study of masochistic pornography written under the name 'James Lovebitch', and an ambitious reading of Joyce in the context of McLuhan's revolution in media. The final section of the book reverses focus to look at Joyce's own place in contemporary culture – the screen adaptation of his portraits of women, performed and staged by a woman; a meditation on the famous photograph of Marilyn Monroe reading *Ulysses*; and finally Vincent Cheng's survey of instances of Joyce invoked by our own popular culture, such as the appearance of *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* in Rodney Dangerfield's movie *Back to School* or the unacknowledged borrowing of the plot of 'The Dead' by the TV series *Thirtysomething*. The

essays in the cultural studies volume do not invoke popular culture so directly – they look at topics such as *Ulysses* and the aerial view, popular Irish mythologies of madness and mechanical recordings of the voice – but most of them spring from a similar set of critical interests.

The most recent major study of Joyce to research popular culture of Joyce's time is Katherine Mullin's *James Joyce, Sexuality and Social Purity* (2003). Mullin concentrates on the 'social purity' movement, and argues that within all Joyce's works 'are buried many intricate and imaginative subversions of the ideologies and strategies of those *Finnegans Wake* would label "vice crusaders", "purity snooper" and "watch warriors of the vigilance committee"'.²³ Mullin examines a variety of topics within this overall aegis, including masturbation in *Portrait*, Gerty MacDowell's relationship to the 'mutoscope girls' and the allusions to 'vice crusading' in the 'Nighttown' section of *Ulysses*. But probably her most striking discovery involves 'Eveline', the campaign against 'white slavery' around the turn of the century, and the well-documented finding that 'going to Buenos Aires' was recognised as code for being sold into prostitution. Mullin's book builds upon Richard Brown's earlier work *James Joyce and Sexuality*,²⁴ and makes it clear that in some regards that study also engaged with popular culture.

To a degree Mullin's book and the ones discussed so far share a common group of interests, a broad set of roughly related theoretical presuppositions – post-structuralist ones, calling most often upon Foucault, de Certeau, Lacan, Bakhtin, Barthes, Baudrillard, Benjamin and Jameson. But there is a substantial amount of criticism of Joyce and popular culture that has little to do with the critical movement toward history and culture during the 1980s and 1990s, but is rather concerned in a pragmatic way with the accuracy of Joyce's cultural details and the sources of his allusions. The most important of these is Robert Martin Adams' *Surface and Symbol* (1967),²⁵ a remarkable work of archival scholarship that tries to evaluate the factitious surface of *Ulysses* by tracking down the book's errors and looking for the models and sources Joyce employed. Adams was the first to make considerable use of *Thom's Dublin Directory* and in particular the newspapers (especially the *Freeman's Journal* and *Evening Telegraph*) that Joyce employed in the construction and scaffolding of *Ulysses*. Carol Shloss followed up on Adams' work, supplementing it by research into Joyce's use of the *Irish Times*, but also indicated some directions in which an investigation of Joyce and the Irish press might proceed.²⁶ For a perspective on what Adams did not attempt to do – that is, investigate the relationship between the Irish press and Joyce's literary enterprise – it is instructive to look at Patrick Collier's recent *Modernism on Fleet Street*, which has a substantial chapter on Joyce.

Collier's thesis is that 'No simple generalization will contain modernist attitudes toward the newspaper press', and in the chapter devoted to Joyce he follows the young writer's progression from aspiring social reformer to diagnostician of the newspaper as a mode of social control.²⁷

A great many early essays investigate Joyce's references to popular literature, under the implicit assumption that any detail of Joyce's literary universe must be interesting. This includes essays on Marie Corelli, Bret Harte's character Gabriel Conroy and even Hugh Kenner's comparison of Stephen the aesthete with Sherlock Holmes, or his bravura analysis of apparent errors in Bloom's physical development chart by consulting the model charts in Eugen Sandow's book *Strength and How to Obtain It*. Mary Power's archival work, highlighted by the discovery of *Ruby*, has been consistently useful.²⁸ Of course, one entire category of popular culture criticism that we have failed to acknowledge so far is quite well developed – too much so to reprise here – and that is the role of popular and folk song in Joyce's work, a field dominated by Mabel Worthington, Zack Bowen and Sebastian Knowles.

But I would contend that the study of the world of newspapers and magazines at the turn of the century in Ireland and the UK is the most promising for popular culture criticism. I am currently pursuing an argument that the New Journalism to which Joyce frequently alludes in 'Aeolus', the offspring of Arthur Harmsworth, implies a new, far more active and immediate relationship to the reader than had been the case earlier, and that this mirrors the relationship with the reader that Joyce attempts to create in *Ulysses*. An extreme example of this effect is in the top 'light weeklies', such as *Answers* and *Tit-Bits*, and I believe that the actual Philip Beaufoy story printed in *Tit-Bits* closest to Bloomsday, 'The Mysterious Post Card', offers a commentary on many of Joyce's themes in *Ulysses*. Be that as it may, the world of turn-of-the-century newspapers and periodicals is a fascinating and rather alien one, and was in the process of reformulating the relationship between reader and writer during Joyce's time. There seems little doubt that he noticed this, and commented on the revolution in his own terms.

NOTES

1. Marguerite Quintelli-Neary, *Folklore and the Fantastic in Twelve Modern Irish Novels* (Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press, 1997), p. 1.
2. Garry Leonard, *Advertising and Commodity Culture in Joyce* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998); see also Leonard, 'James Joyce and Popular Culture', in Jean-Michel Rabaté, ed., *Palgrave Advances in James Joyce Studies* (Houndmills and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 39–51.

3. Patrick Brantlinger, *Bread and Circuses: Theories of Mass Culture as Social Decay* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).
4. Q. D. Leavis, *Fiction and the Reading Public* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1932), p. 74.
5. Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).
6. T. S. Eliot, 'Ulysses, Order, and Myth' [1923], in Richard Ellmann and Charles Feidelson, eds., *The Modern Tradition* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 679–81.
7. Paddy Whannel and Stuart Hall, *The Popular Arts* (London: Hutchinson, 1964).
8. Leslie Fiedler, 'To Whom Does Joyce Belong? Ulysses as Parody, Pop and Porn', in Heyward Ehrlich, ed., *Light Rays: James Joyce and Modernism* (New York: New Horizon Press, 1984), pp. 26–30.
9. Jim Collins, *Uncommon Cultures: Popular Culture and Post-Modernism* (New York: Routledge, 1989).
10. Cheryl Herr, *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), p. 4.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
12. See, e.g., Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, trans. John Cumming (New York: Continuum, 1986).
13. Cheryl Herr, ed., *For the Land They Loved: Irish Political Melodramas, 1890–1925* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1991).
14. Stephen Watt, *Joyce, O'Casey, and the Irish Popular Theater* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1991), p. 7.
15. Kevin J. H. Dettmar and Stephen Watt, eds., *Marketing Modernisms* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996).
16. R. B. Kershner, *Joyce, Bakhtin, and Popular Literature: Chronicles of Disorder* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1989).
17. Jennifer Wicke, *Advertising Fictions: Literature, Advertisement, and Social Reading* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), p. 121.
18. Garry Leonard and Jennifer Wicke, eds., *JJQ*, 30.4 (1993).
19. Leonard, *Advertising*, p. xi.
20. Suzette Henke and Elaine Unkeless, eds., *Women in Joyce* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), pp. 132–49.
21. Leonard, *Advertising*, p. 108.
22. R. B. Kershner, ed., *Joyce and Popular Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996); R. Brandon Kershner, ed., *Cultural Studies of James Joyce, European Joyce Studies* 15 (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2003).
23. Katherine Mullin, *James Joyce, Sexuality and Social Purity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 3.
24. Richard Brown, *James Joyce and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
25. Robert Martin Adams, *Surface and Symbol: The Consistency of James Joyce's 'Ulysses'* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967).

26. Carol Shloss, 'Choice Newsyrels: James Joyce and the *Irish Times*', *JJQ* 15.2 (1978): 325–38.
27. Patrick Collier, *Modernism on Fleet Street* (Aldershot, Hampshire, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 5, 8.
28. Marvin Magalaner, 'James Joyce and Marie Corelli', in Raymond J. Porter and James D. Brophy, eds., *Modern Irish Literature* (New York: Twayne, 1972), pp. 185–93; Gerhard Friedrich, 'Bret Harte as a Source for James Joyce's 'The Dead'', *Philological Quarterly* 33 (October 1954): 442–4; Hugh Kenner, *Dublin's Joyce* [1956] (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987); Hugh Kenner, *Ulysses*, 2nd edn (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987 [1980]), appendix 2; Mary Power, 'The Discovery of *Ruby*', *JJQ* 18.2 (1981): 115–22.

Language and languages

Tim Conley

'It is difficult to enjoy well so much several langages': the wisdom of *English as She Is Spoke* radiates from its own exemplary nature. It lists 'Chinaman' as a trade and 'Hedge hog' as a fish, suggests a phrase like 'You hear the bird's gurgling?' as respectable small talk, and proffers such inscrutable proverbs as 'To craunch the marmoset'. The poor youth ('at which we dedicate him particularly', notes the Preface), who goes with such a guide in hand runs a good risk of being institutionalised – whether as felon, patient or tenured professor I leave the reader to imagine.¹ First published in London the year after Joyce was born and repeatedly re-issued since as a comic treasury, this book provided ready material for *Finnegans Wake*, from specific words like 'idiotism' (299F3) to, most explicitly, the title *Storiella as She Is Syung*.²

Joyce's interest in this unusual volume stems from a keen awareness of the volatile differences between the two general conceptions of language that Saussure designated as the homogeneous *langue* and the heterogeneous *parole*.³ Where the former is a theoretical construct, the latter is experience, and their mutually defining animadversions are dramatically and regularly exchanged in letters to newspaper editors that quibble ferociously over the use of a split infinitive or a troublesome apostrophe. The unintentional hilarity of *English as She Is Spoke* is the result of a collision of categories: idiolect presuming to be normative.

Of course, this presumption is precisely that of institutional manifestations of *langue*, torn as they so often are between description and prescription. The tension between institutionalised (recognisable to and recognised by cultural managers of language) usage and vocabulary and those that seem erroneous, unorthodox, inferior or maverick is central to Joyce's work, dramatised in his narratives and emblematised in his forms. One of the most famous examples is the interruption of the pyrotechnical tutorial in the last chapter of *A Portrait*. Stephen and the dean of studies find that they have different names for the same item: a *funnel* and a *tundish*. A younger, more devout Stephen supposed that *God* and *Dieu* were appellations for the

same divinity, though 'God's real name was God' (*P* 13) and that was that. The new awareness that fissures of linguistic difference extend deeply within specific languages themselves is the culmination of the novel's *Bildung* (a word only roughly approximated by 'education') structure. The dean of studies – the title is exactly inappropriate here – reflects: 'I must look that word up. Upon my word I must' (*P* 204). The 'word of honour' is the very definition of *parole*, yet the English dean is really swearing on the dictionary, the institutionalisation of *langue*, where he will 'look that word up'. What aggravates Stephen is that the dean does not take *his* word for it, and later, having 'looked it up' (*P* 274) he once again doubts himself and submits to English authority.

Hugh Kenner has ingeniously suggested that the *Oxford English Dictionary* represents the English epic of the nineteenth century, and this description implies an imperialism of meanings and categories which modernism, and particularly Joyce, challenges. Thus, in so far as *Ulysses* may be called the 'English epic' of the twentieth century, it is also a radical reconstitution of both 'English' and 'epic'. While Joyce's novel is customarily termed encyclopaedic, the adjective is misleading since as an encyclopaedia its reach notably exceeds its grasp: definitions become less and less definite as words disintegrate in the course of a narrative in which events and their descriptions, referents and signifiers seem to diverge. The metamorphoses of a word like 'metempsychosis' to 'met him pike hoses' and the slippery recontextualisations of words both common ('up') and esoteric ('ineluctable') are instructive examples of how *meaning* can and often does differ from *definition*. Much of the dramatic tension in the novel revolves around the constraining pressures of what Stephen sardonically thinks of as 'dagger definitions' (*U* 9.84): while Stephen pursues heady paradoxes and tautologies yet lacks a 'word known to all men' (*U* 3.435) Bloom refuses or is unable to finish the sand-written statement 'I AM A' and then finds himself mocked and threatened in Barney Kiernan's pub for his awkward attempts to define 'nation'. One could argue that the novel's climax (or, as the case may be, anti-climax, though perhaps the truth is somewhere between these opposites, a narrative moment without a proper name), is a translinguistic return to the rudiments of language(s). Stephen and Bloom, both of whom show a greater care for and conscientiousness about words than any other characters in *Ulysses*, compare the Hebrew and Irish alphabets (*U* 17.724–60),⁴ and their encounter prompts the hope (or the fantasy) that Stephen will teach Molly Italian. *Ulysses* is less a book of 'English' than a book of linguistic intersections and what Fritz Senn has deftly named 'dislocations'.⁵

For a number of salient reasons, it is difficult to speak or write generally about Joyce's use or conception of language. (Indeed, it is curious and enlightening to note that in their useful books on Joyce and language, both Anthony Burgess and Katie Wales suggest that the comprehensive work on Joyce and language remains to be written. All remarks on the subject seem to be provisional.) The first difficulties are the combined richness and diversity of Joyce's languages. Consider, for example, vocabulary: if this little essay were merely a list of unique words in *Ulysses*, without any definitions or commentary, it would still have to be over six times longer than it is to be complete. Yet, as I have already pointed out, the meanings of Joyce's words are always in flux (and, in the 'changeably meaning vocable scriptsigns' of the *Wake* (FW 118.27–8), the words themselves seem to be), resistant to absolute definition, so a census has obvious limitations. Joyce repeatedly questions precisely what constitutes a word, or even a root or morpheme, with his arsenal of portmanteaux, neologisms, anacoluthon, fragmentations, anthimeria, onomatopoeia and assorted whirligigs of paronomasia. The fundamental arbitrariness of signs, which Saussure had noted but which the structuralist schools by and large chose not to emphasise or dwell upon, points to an innate problem of power within language, precisely the conflict between Stephen and the dean. Since there is no logical or natural reason why a given object should be called a tundish or a funnel or anything else at all, the act of naming is a form of social legislation. Joyce's multiplicity of names represents a plurality of perspectives and a stay against absolutism (even against an absolute definition of words like *language*). For Joyce – as for Bloom, about whom the narrator of 'Cyclops' complains that to call a straw a straw is not the end of a discussion but the start of it (U 12.893–6) – there is no such thing as a 'last word' on a subject, though the endless *Wake* ironically poses as one: 'last word of perfect language' (FW 424.23–4).

Measuring or appreciating the diversity of Joyce's languages is an equally overwhelming problem. In his contribution to *Our Exagmination*, Robert McAlmon points out that, for Joyce, 'language does not mean the English language; it means a medium capable of suggestion, implication and evocation; a medium as free as any art medium should be, and as the dance at its best can be'.⁶ Joyce's notion of 'language' comprises ideas about at least all of the languages with which he was acquainted and quite possibly others, too. The myth of the omniglot Joyce is neither accurate nor useful, but determining precisely which languages Joyce 'knew' – the 'perverted commas' here are cautionary – and how well he 'knew' them is an ongoing critical and biographical discussion. The memoirs of Sylvia Beach, Eugene Jolas and others express admiration at Joyce's habit of collecting languages

yet, as a Berlitz instructor, Joyce himself admitted to his students that really learning a language could take many years of study. Writing to Harriet Shaw Weaver on 24 June 1921, Joyce claims to 'speak four or five languages fluently enough' (*JJ* 512). The uncertainty of 'or' and 'enough' give one pause, but Joyce presumably refers to Latin, German and French (the legacy of his Jesuit education), as well as Norwegian (the language of the Master Builder, dutifully studied) and Italian (the chosen language of his family).

Of course, fluency is subjectively measured and language designations are porous and divisible within themselves. Joyce's Italian was originally that of Dante, but he came to learn modern Italian as well as *Triestino*, not just an organic *parole* in contradistinction to the canonised *langue* but a true hybrid of dialects, including Armenian, Czech, Magyar, Slovenian, Spanish and Turkish, among others.⁷ It is probably via such cosmopolitan dialects that Joyce came into contact with many of the tongues he would use in the *Wake*, rather than through exclusive study. Russian, in which Joyce, Ellmann rather vaguely records, was 'taking an interest' in 1919 (*JJ* 472), may have seemed novel in the wake of the Revolution, but does not appear to have inspired disciplined or prolonged contemplation. Irish and Greek are regularly singled out as the two languages which Joyce did not 'know', but, again, the truth is more complicated than the fiction. Joyce's well-known antipathy for the nationalist revival (about which more below) and the similar scorn of Stephen Dedalus are not equivalent: the former had more Gaelic on him than the latter, and Joyce even took an interest in its relatives, such as Welsh. Stephen and Joyce do share the lack of ancient Greek (though Joyce knew modern demotic) and both are nettled by their ignorance and somewhat ambivalent about the language itself. The praises of Greek are repeatedly sung in *Ulysses*, most bombastically by Buck Mulligan and Professor MacHugh, in connection with half-baked, nostalgic plans to reform Ireland. Not having what these blowhards call 'the language of the mind' (*U* 7.564) may be a perverse point of honour, just as the characterisation of Shem as having 'some little laughings and some less of cheeks' (*FW* 125.15) links Joyce with Shakespeare, who, Bacon famously said, had 'small Latin and less Greek'. Classical Greek was perhaps too classical – uncomfortably orthodox and potentially pompous – for Joyce, who instead pilfered choice words and expressions from Danish, Albanian, Portuguese and Finnish (among others) in putting together *Finnegans Wake*.

McAlmon's recognition of Joyce's language as 'a medium capable of suggestion, implication and evocation' extends beyond these issues of ethnic and national boundaries and Joyce's polyglot competencies, however. Bloom's observation that 'Everything speaks in its own way' (*U* 7.177),

which Katie Wales remarks 'could be the motto for the whole novel',⁸ reflects a significant part of Joyce's understanding of 'language'. As a phenomenon, language depends upon the perception of a kind of information (however broadly defined) expressed. Unable to detect such information, a listener might be tempted to reject his or her interlocutor as a 'barbarian' or 'dumb animal'. Joyce, whose 1907 *Il Piccolo della Sera* article 'Ireland at the Bar' depicted Ireland as a woefully uncomprehended victim of the English system of justice, makes a point of being more open-minded. Bloom is attentive enough to distinguish between this or that utterance of his cat, though he glumly admits that she understands him better than he does her. Just as 'language' for Joyce is by no means a metonym for English, nor is it the exclusive property of humans. The printing press says 'Sllt' (*U* 7.177) and the passing train says 'frseeeeeeeefronnnng' (*U* 18.596). The languages of flowers, pigeons and tapping canes in *Ulysses* are the precursors of the diversified babble of *Finnegans Wake*, in which rivers and mountains speak in accord with Vico's theory of language as the force of animation: 'the most sublime labor of poetry is to give sense and passion to insensate things'.⁹ Thunder is the voice of creation, water of life. The question of whether one can cogently speak of a 'Wakese', a unified, cohesive linguistic system, remains conspicuously, disarmingly open. Anxious efforts by some critics to discern a 'universal' grammar within the *Wake*¹⁰ have got no further than cognitive linguists have been able to map such an abstract human capacity (language as human 'hardware') in any tangible manner, though the parallel is illuminating.

After richness and diversity, the third conceptual difficulty is the absolute emphasis on the specificity of usage. For Joyce, the roots of meaning – usually words, though the *Wake* begs to differ – only have meaning because of their individuality, context and polyvalency. The frequently hazy distinctions between 'nice' and 'queer' and 'bad' words and expressions (complicated by irony, such as the sarcasm employed by Dante at the Christmas dinner table: 'Nice language for any catholic to use!' (*P* 30)) that trouble young Stephen become great puzzles for the reader who cannot, for example, absolutely determine that each and every 'yes' in 'Penelope' is the semiotic or even the semantic equivalent of every other 'yes'. Within 'suggestion, implication and evocation' we may further discern 'association', for Joyce invites – and in the *Wake* could be said to depend upon – those patently non-dictionary meanings that are located at the furthest extreme of *parole*: the emotional resonances words and sounds have for an individual reader.

Whether there exists such a thing as a fully operative idiolect remains a sticking-point for many linguists and philosophers, but Joyce presses the

issue with his appreciation of language not merely as an individual's means of representing particular experience but, most daringly, as a form of experience itself. If a language is comprehended as a series of rules (as it is by both Saussure and Wittgenstein), the question of how pliable those rules are inevitably arises. Jakobson, for one, would be scandalised at how little attention formal linguistic studies now gives literature of the past century, preferring as it does to study largely banal usages and examples that one is usually left to recognise as normative. Joyce offers a wide field for tilling. *Ulysses* values the richness of slang and innuendo as much as that of professional and technical jargons. *Finnegans Wake* strips grammar and syntax bare, revealing them as byways to meaning, rather than meaningful in themselves, thus anticipating Chomsky's 'colorless green ideas sleep furiously'.¹¹ Joyce's attention to exceptionality and deviation is inseparable from his innovative aesthetic: the rules of language are for him often worth breaking. When in 'The Boarding House', Bob Doran considers Polly Mooney 'a little vulgar' because 'sometimes she said *I seen* and *If I had've known*. But what would grammar matter if he really loved her?' (D 61), the reader's laugh at this fatuous question comes at Doran's, not Polly's, expense. Like Bloom's blunders and Molly's malapropisms, Polly's expressive mistakes are 'language', sure enough.

The 'rules' of language only define language in so far as they confine it. For the young Joyce, the study of languages (which probably ought to be understood in this context to mean the *academic* study) offers amelioration, greater precision of expression. In a matriculation essay written in the spring of 1899, he hits upon a remarkable paradox: 'How frequently it happens that when persons become excited, all sense of language seems to forsake them, and they splutter incoherently and repeat themselves, that their phrases may have *more sound and meaning*' (OCPW 15, emphasis added). Although the study of languages is – as Joyce's schoolmaster doubtless expected to hear – laudable and indeed 'essential for a man, who wishes to communicate in the ordinary way with his fellow-man' (OCPW 26), that 'sense of language', which is here by implication an acquisition, is perversely inhibiting to expression and restrictive of meaning. By this measure, *Finnegans Wake* (which avows 'this is nat language in any sinse of the word' (83.12)) is the most 'excited' of Joyce's texts and perhaps even of the whole of twentieth-century literature. Its compulsive stuttering, hiccupping, lisping, slurring and prevaricating are the vital counterweights to *langue* proper. The words of the *Wake* cannot be 'looked up' in quite the way that the dean vows to check the legitimacy of 'tundish'. The same might be said of many of Joyce's linguistically irregular sources: Shelta, for instance, or Swift's 'little language' from his *Journal to Stella*.

This briefly outlined network of difficulties, once understood, represents at once a source of self-reflexive, Wittgensteinian anxiety for readers and an invaluable insight. Metalinguistic Joyce consistently and with each subsequent work more aggressively affirms that language has both materiality and historicity. Although the abstraction of 'language' can perhaps only be dealt with metaphorically – as Joyce himself often did, such as his claims to 'having declared war' on (the English) language (*L* 1 237) or having 'put the language to sleep' (*JJ* 546) – because of the depth, diversity and indissoluble individuality of language 'as it is spoke', its protean changes, its evolution can be delineated and even seen as a narrative. The structural schema of maturation in *A Portrait* and of childbirth in 'Oxen of the Sun' make the point: language is stuff that grows and lives.

Enigmatic and fertile corollaries follow from these primary properties of materiality and historicity. Contra Saussure, language has substance (not just the way we might speak of the corporeality of text, but even in the reproducibility of sounds: consider the 'gramophone' effect Derrida discerns in *Ulysses*)¹² and its use can and does have substantial effects. The use of language has ethical, political dimensions perhaps beyond those apparent to the user. Joyce does not present *moral* judgements of any particular linguistic expression as such, no matter how trite or coarse. The phrase 'Agenbite of inwit', which Stephen takes from a fourteenth-century book by Dan Michel, is as memorable as the respectably inane commercial jingle for Plumtree's Potted Meat that similarly stays in Bloom's head, though the economical 'Shite and onions!' (*U* 7.329) is understood to reflect some greater intelligence than 'I'll wring the neck of any fucking bastard says a word against my bleeding fucking king' (*U* 15.4643–4). Yet the use of language falls within the realm of ethics because it is the effects of words – to insult, to arouse, to praise, to lie – that are felt by others.

Joyce's body of words supports the notion of 'gendered' language usage. Joyce's women are notoriously unorthodox in their grammar and punctuation. Where male characters are sometimes ridiculous for their circumlocutions and euphemisms (in *Exiles*, Robert confesses: 'In the cab took place what the subtle Duns Scotus calls a death of the spirit' (*PE* 258)), women such as Bella Cohen and Molly Bloom are among the most plain-spoken in literature, unafraid to use four-letter words and name parts of the anatomy. HCE has a crashing stutter and ALP a soft lisp, while Issy's voice is always a contradictory blend of (sexual) innocence and insinuation. Recognition of these marked differences between men's and women's words has yielded both criticisms of Joyce's sexism and encomia for his

having exemplified *écriture féminine*. The materiality of Joyce's language opens and validates this ongoing debate.

Joyce encourages, by his example, as constant and deep an awareness of the history of language as one can manage. The 'scrupulous meanness' which was a self-declared narrative style for *Dubliners* became an approach to words themselves, none of which can be too minor, too innocuous, too careworn to be unworthy of the fullest interest (after all, Joyce regularly ends his books with monosyllables, the last one barely audible: 'the'). It has been long known that, like the protagonist of *Stephen Hero*, Joyce avidly read Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* 'by the hour' (SH 26); in fact, Joyce shares his year of birth with its complete first edition. More recently, Milesi has drawn attention to Joyce's interest (attested by his notebooks) in Sir Richard Paget's *Babel, or The Past, Present, and Future of Human Speech* (1925) and *Human Speech* (1930), while Downing has considered how the rise of 'middlebrow-popular general interest' philology, represented by such works as Richard Chenevix Trench's *On the Study of Words* (1851) and Max Müller's *Lectures on the Science of Language* (1861–4) informs Joyce's 'linguisticised literature'.¹³ What this last phrase connotes is a method of reading, the kind that sometimes develops after an encounter with an inferior translation leaves a reader compelled to be lexically suspicious, to be alert to patterns and inconsistencies alike, to scratch at the surface of words.

The 'abnihilation of the etym' (FW 353.22) represents a sundering of linguistic borders, a symptom of international modernism. The linguistic play of Joyce's later work, radical as it is, is more profitably considered alongside other contemporary avant-garde experiments rather than as an isolated aberration. The 'words in freedom' promised by Marinetti are matched by the individually liberated characters of the alphabet who meander through 1904 Dublin as sandwichmen and later, somewhat more literally, through the *Wake* (among whose *dramatis personae* are, for example, 'throne open doubleyous' (FW 120.28), 'a cubital lull' (369.36) and 'the cut and dry aks and wise' (123.02)). Yet Joyce shows little interest in schemes to 'purify the language of the tribe', in the manner of Mallarmé, Eliot and Pound. On the contrary, miscegenation and cross-pollination are his *modus operandi* exactly because living languages are themselves genetic hybrids, English probably the most mixed of all. 'Are we speachin d'anglas landadge or are you sprakin sea Djoytsch?' asks *Finnegans Wake* (FW 485.12–13). Quests for 'pure' and 'perfect' languages serve as one inspiration for the *Wake*, but the claim that Joyce 'linguisticised literature' does not imply that he made or even proposed a formal science of language nor seriously offered the dream language of the *Wake* for civic use.

The initiatives of the Gaelic League, founded in 1893, are objectionable in that they dogmatically assert that there is a politically 'correct' language. Joyce was as uninterested as Stephen Dedalus in learning Irish for Ireland's sake, though not so uninterested in the issue as to omit representatives of the movement in his work, not all of whom are unsympathetic (Molly Ivors, for one, is quicker on her feet than Gabriel Conroy). Nor was Joyce so alone in his aversion to the League's chauvinism as is sometimes supposed. In a 1907 public letter, J. M. Synge prophesies the coming of 'some young man' who

will sweep over the backside of the world to the uttermost limbo this credo of mouthing gibberish. (I speak here not of the old and magnificent language of our manuscripts, or of the two or three dialects still spoken, though with many barbarisms, in the west and south, but of the incoherent twaddle that is passed off as Irish by the Gaelic League.) This young man will teach Ireland again that she is part of Europe, and teach Irishmen that they have wits to think, imaginations to work miracles, and souls to possess with sanity.¹⁴

If we are tempted to see Joyce, then twenty-five, as the young man Synge anticipates, then we should also relish the irony that Joyce thus opposes nationalist 'gibberish' with an international gibberish.

To the so-called 'auxiliary' international language movements of Esperanto (begun in 1887), Volapük (1879), and Ido (a reformist offshoot of Esperanto, 1907), to the various language reforms propounded by, among others, Bernard Shaw, and to C. K. Ogden's *Basic English* (1930), Joyce gave bemused attention, nodding to 'Volapucky' (FW 116.31) and 'desperanto' (582.08), but no more so than he did to, say, the comic misprisions of Lorelei Lee in *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1925). Between the earnest schemes of Zamenhof *et al.* and Anita Loos' bright satire lies the incidental humour of *English as She Is Spoke*. In so far as *Finnegans Wake* is written in an 'invented language', it is a language pointedly lacking in norms and clear rules.¹⁵

Joyce draws upon sources rather than authorities. His language is almost never 'literary' in the stultifying way that Tennyson and Lord Lytton are, because he cast his net further than the sanctified 'literary' texts and heroes. Ephemera such as classified advertisements, instruction manuals, racing forms and weather reports ('snow was general all over Ireland' (D 225)) gave him as much linguistic material as the quotable Shakespeare. Moreover, the temptation to ascribe all of Joyce's inspiration to texts or even 'intellectual' sources ought to be guarded against: Joyce was as inveterate an eavesdropper as he was a reader, and the sometimes strange, always fascinating expressions one encounters in his daytime

Dublin and his dreamwork are drawn exactly from the talk, songs and speeches he recorded. Parnellite and nationalist slogans were as much rhetorical gold as Cicero. Listening to his loquacious father gave Joyce a number of Simon Dedalus' memorable turns of phrase and such *Finnegans Wake* root narratives as the story of Buckley and the Russian General – perhaps even their intonations.

One history of language is not privileged over another for the excellent reason that the differences of languages bespeak different histories. For this reason, too, readers and students of Joyce must always be careful of narrow definitions. The history of language is, as Joyce's probationary title has it, a work in progress. Both Joyce's works and our interpretations of those works are an exciting part of that ongoing history. Consider the well-known case of 'quark', a *Wake* word whose precise referent (a rather special subatomic particle) was located by Murray Gell-Mann more than a decade after the publication of the *Wake*. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, anticipated by Swift and still popular in science fiction but now little esteemed in formal linguistics, ultimately holds that only signifiable ideas and things can be grasped by human consciousness. Joyce, the liberator of language, effectively turns this idea upside down, providing words whose meanings are left for us to discover, to invent, to experience.

NOTES

1. *English as She Is Spoke* (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1967), pp. 34, 6, 11, 26, 60, 4. A new edition, edited by Paul Collins, was published in 2004 by McSweeney's books.
2. Joyce's title also plays upon P. W. Joyce's 1910 book *English as We Speak It in Ireland* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1979).
3. Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, ed. Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye in collaboration with Albert Riedlinger, trans. Wade Baskin (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), pp. 13–15. It is not known for certain whether Joyce himself ever read Saussure.
4. This comparison recurs in the *Wake*, where 'eighteenthly or twentyfourthly' (*FW* 123.03) can refer to the different number of episodes in *Ulysses* and in *The Odyssey* and/or the number of letters in the two alphabets.
5. Fritz Senn, *Joyce's Dislocations: Essays on Reading as Translation*, ed. J. P. Riquelme (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984).
6. Robert McAlmon, 'Mr. Joyce Directs an Irish Word Ballet', in Samuel Beckett *et al.*, *Our Exagmination Round his Factification for Incamination of Work in Progress* [1929] (London: Faber & Faber, 1972), pp. 106–7.
7. John McCourt, *The Years of Bloom: James Joyce in Trieste, 1904–1920* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2000), pp. 51–5.

8. Katie Wales, *The Language of James Joyce* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1992), p. 108.
9. Giambattista Vico, *The New Science*, trans. Thomas Goddard Bergin and Max Harold Fisch (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), p. 71.
10. See, for example, Strother B. Purdy, 'Mind your Genderous: Towards a *Wake* Grammar', in Fritz Senn, ed., *New Light on Joyce from the Dublin Symposium* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), pp. 46–78.
11. Noam Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures* (The Hague: Mouton, 1966), p. 15.
12. See Jacques Derrida, 'Ulysses Gramophone: Hear Say Yes in Joyce', in Derek Attridge, ed., *Acts of Literature* (New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 253–309.
13. Laurent Milesi, 'Supplementing Babel: Paget in vi.B.32', in Dirk Van Hulle, ed., *James Joyce: The Study of Languages* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2002), and, in the same volume, Gregory M. Downing, 'Diverting Philology: Language and its Effects in Popularised Philology and Joyce's Work', pp. 123, 141.
14. J. M. Synge, 'Can We Go Back into our Mother's Womb?', in Tony Crowley, ed., *The Politics of Language in Ireland 1366–1922: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 212–13.
15. Take pronunciation as an example. Despite the common advice to read it aloud for better understanding, the *Wake* remains phonologically indeterminate, even anarchic. Words like 'profěššionally' (*FW* 124.10), 'hvide' (*FW* 247.31) and 'dhruimadhreamdhrue' (320.21) have no clear or authorised pronunciation, regardless of whether one insists that the book is 'basically English' (116.26) and/or requires an Irish accent (never mind the differences between regional accents!).

CHAPTER 28

Philosophy

Fran O'Rourke

JOYCE'S THOMIST MASTERS

Throughout his life James Joyce evinced keen interest in a variety of philosophical approaches. During his student years he was a dedicated pupil of Aristotle and Aquinas. His early distrust of Platonism left him suspicious of idealism. Empiricism was unacceptable because of its scepticism, and his short-lived attraction to pragmatism turned to scorn because of the manner it debased the ideal of truth. For various aspects of their philosophies Joyce held Giordano Bruno, Giambattista Vico and Nicholas of Cusa in high regard. He admired Bruno as the father of modern philosophy; Vico probed the tangled web of thought and language into which Joyce would delve more deeply; Cusanus provided the logic of contradiction and harmony of opposites which allowed him to conceive of *Finnegans Wake*.

In honoured tradition, however, Joyce's favoured philosopher was the 'master of those who know'; he regarded Aristotle as 'the greatest thinker of all times'.¹ Aquinas had bestowed on Aristotle the unique title of 'philosophus' – *the philosopher*; and it was largely under a thomist aegis that Joyce came to know the 'allwisest Stagyrte'. 'Steeled in the school of old Aquinas', he graduated an Aristotelian. Typical for the thomist of his day, he would in fact have seen minimal difference between their strictly philosophical systems. According to opinion popular at the time, Aquinas simply baptised the philosopher of Stagira into the service of the Church. Aristotle had provided the philosophical substratum of Christian theology, with a metaphysics to establish the existence of God, and a psychology to prove the immortality of the human soul; more particularly he bequeathed the categories necessary to articulate sacramental doctrine. Thomist philosophy merely completed Aristotelian thought. Trained by thomist masters, Joyce entered the conceptual worlds of both without concern for overlapping or extending borderlines, but absorbed the two together. Aristotle

and Aquinas furnished Joyce with his applied aesthetic, and provided his characters with multifarious themes for discourse as they reflect on daily life. In grossly simplistic terms, we may say that Aristotle's metaphysics and psychology supply Stephen with the concepts and categories needed to understand himself and to interpret the world, while Aquinas principally inspired the aesthetic reflections which were his central concern in *Portrait*.

Since I have treated elsewhere of Joyce's dependence on Aristotle,² I will consider in this paper the historical and intellectual circumstances of Joyce's introduction to Aquinas. While this may seem a boundless landscape, the conditions are so definitive and particular that the following account might be accurately summed up under an alternative title: 'Gioacchino Pecci and James Joyce'. Pecci was elected Pope on 20 February 1878; as Leo XIII, on 4 August 1879, he issued the encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, which was arguably the single most influential remote factor in Joyce's philosophical and aesthetic education. In this encyclical the Pope encouraged Catholic schools and universities to 'restore the renowned teaching of Thomas Aquinas to its ancient beauty'. He exhorted: 'Let carefully selected teachers endeavour to implant the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas in the minds of students, and set forth clearly his solidity and excellence over others. Let the universities already founded or to be founded by you illustrate and defend this doctrine, and use it for the refutation of prevailing errors.' The encyclical inspired a remarkable revival of scholastic philosophy; new centres of thomist philosophy were established, journals and instructional handbooks were published for the dissemination of thomistic thought. Within two decades the thomist renaissance would in large measure mould the mind of the young Joyce, providing the kernel of his aesthetic, and the philosophical concepts which would be credited to his literary hero.

While he was most likely unaware of the role of Leo XIII, by Joyce's own testimony Aquinas was one of his greatest influences. Famously declaring loyalty to the school of old Aquinas, Joyce praised the saint as 'perhaps the keenest and most lucid mind known to human history'. The influence of St Thomas may be viewed broadly under three aspects. As theologian and official teacher of the Catholic Church he was, symbolically, the figure of authority whom Joyce confronted on the battlefield of belief and doubt. As philosopher he was an important tributary of Aristotelian thought. As saint praising the beauty of God, Aquinas provided Joyce with the categories for his secular aesthetics. In this article, however, I will not treat of these matters of content, but confine myself rather to the historical-educational circumstances of his initiation into the thought of St Thomas; I will also adduce available evidence for his familiarity with specific writings of Aquinas.

To understand the impact of the thomist revival upon the philosophical milieu which directly influenced Joyce, it will be of interest to outline the status of philosophy at University College, Dublin. It is not true, as claimed by Jacques Aubert, that scholastic philosophy was barred from the state-supported university.³ While William T. Noon is correct in saying that Joyce never formally studied philosophy, he ignores the importance of his exposure to aristotelian thomism at UCD.⁴ It is worth recalling the relevant facts, and the figures who either directly or indirectly influenced Joyce's philosophical education during these formative years. This account is inextricably linked to the Jesuit government of the College, and its relationship with the Royal University; it also sets the context for the reliance upon the philosophical textbooks which were the main source for Joyce's knowledge of Aristotle and Aquinas.

One of the central figures in *Stephen Hero* is the College President, Fr Dillon; the person behind the character played in reality an even greater role. William Delany⁵ attended St Patrick's College, the national seminary in Maynooth, before deciding to join the Jesuits as the best way of serving the cause of Irish Catholic education. As a novice he studied at Saint-Acheul in France and Stonyhurst in Lancashire; after ordination he studied theology in Rome. Appointed rector of St Stanislaus College, Tullabeg, in 1870, he brought rapid fame to the school, and it was largely as a result of his reputation as an educationalist that the bishops transferred the Catholic University to the Jesuits. Delany was greatly influential in the establishment of the Royal University by the Disraeli Conservative government in 1879. Its charter was approved on 27 April 1880, and its senate appointed eighteen Catholics and eighteen non-Catholics. In October 1883 the bishops transferred the Catholic University to the Jesuits, with Fr Delany in charge. An early controversy to assail Delany arose from a complaint by the bishops, meeting at Clonliffe College on 1 October 1884, that the questions in the metaphysics examinations of the Royal University necessitated 'the reading of anti-Catholic works, most dangerous to Catholic faith'. The problem arose from the lack of suitable literature dealing with modern philosophy from the scholastic point of view.

Partly to blame for this problem, and responsible in turn for its solution, was another remarkable Jesuit, Thomas A. Finlay. Finlay studied in France, Italy and Germany, and in 1883 was appointed professor of mental philosophy at UCD. He was concurrently rector of Belvedere College, and it was perhaps the onerous obligations of his joint appointment that caused him soon to be embroiled in the dispute with the bishops which, in the words of his biographer, 'threatened the future of the college'. The

examination paper in metaphysics had been set by Fr Finlay together with Professor Park of Queen's College, Belfast, and intended to examine a wide range of students – those who had studied philosophy in the light of modern approaches, and those (particularly in Catholic seminaries) who had been taught from the traditional, scholastic, point of view. Finlay himself accepted as 'a deplorable blunder' the failure to take the latter sufficiently into account, especially as no suitable textbooks were available in English. The senate of the Royal University quickly set up a committee to devise a programme of studies that would be fair to all candidates.

In early 1885, 'largely through the efforts of Finlay, a satisfactory and effective compromise was worked out. Some changes were made in the courses, and a choice of alternative questions was offered.'⁶ The chairman of the senate, Lord Emly, would have preferred to face down the bishops, but was persuaded by Fr Delany to satisfy them temporarily, 'even at the risk of narrowing temporarily our course of mental philosophy'.⁷ He was confident that suitable handbooks would become available within a few years, by which time 'the Royal University, "now on its trial and suspected", would have grown and established itself, and Catholics would have won such a position at University College that it would be plain that the system involved no unfairness and no religious danger'.⁸ Delany's biographer notes significantly that 'in accordance with the lines laid down by the pope, he was committed to making the college's philosophical teaching "distinctly and thoroughly scholastic and thomistic"'.⁹ Con Curran, a classmate of Joyce, recalled that while philosophy courses attracted 'a large portion of the best brains in the college ... it was not so easy for any student to escape some tincture of divine philosophy'.¹⁰ Finlay's biographer also remarks: 'The Aristotelian and Thomist undercurrent ran through the institution, and influenced those like James Joyce and Curran who did not follow any course in philosophy.'¹¹

Delany's confidence regarding philosophical handbooks was well founded; within a few years, a comprehensive series of manuals, written by professors of Stonyhurst, the English Jesuit seminary, provided the core of the UCD philosophy curriculum. The volume in psychology was in fact written by Delany's nephew, Michael Maher, past pupil of St Stanislaus College, Tullabeg, and now a member of the English Jesuit province. Thomas Finlay, for his part, responded to the crisis – for which he felt responsible – by translating *A Handbook of the History of Philosophy* by the German priest, Albert Stöckle.¹² Finlay was either founder or co-founder of six journals, and editor of three. The choice of the name *Lyceum*, so-called after the school of Aristotle, for a monthly literary and educational magazine is indicative of his leanings towards Aristotle.

An influential figure who, as dean of studies, played an important part in Joyce's education was Fr Joseph Darlington. Darlington received an MA from Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1876,¹³ and ministered for a short time in the Anglican Church before being received into the Catholic Church. In 1880 he joined the Irish Jesuits and ten years later became dean of studies at University College, Dublin, and University examiner in English. Darlington taught both English and Philosophy in turn. Curran commented:

His teaching of each subject profited from his experience of the other. Perhaps he was not so very distinguished as a philosopher, but his approach to Hamlet through Aristotle and Aquinas had a particular savour for one student bored with the solemnities of Dowden and Bradley. This Aristotelian under-current emerged whenever the Dean spoke, as he often did, at the College Societies, and indeed it fits in with what Father Delany used to say, that the Faculty of Philosophy should be at the heart of any university.¹⁴

Another person who contributed decisively to Joyce's philosophical development was William Magennis. An early student of Finlay, he graduated in 1888,¹⁵ and during Joyce's time at UCD held a fellowship in Mental and Moral Philosophy.¹⁶ There is reference in *A Portrait* to 'the tall form of the young professor of mental science discussing on the landing a case of conscience with his class like a giraffe cropping high leafage among a herd of antelopes' (*P* 208). The official history of the University under the Jesuits describes a similar scene: 'During the day sometimes the metaphysicians were observed still hammering out their arguments, in the College corridors, and giving the Philistines an opportunity to jeer.'¹⁷ Such accounts suggest the philosophical enthusiasm and vitality which pervaded the student body.

As a student Magennis had assimilated an ardent brand of thomism from the French Jesuit, Père Jacques Mallac, who taught at UCD from 1884 to 1890. A free-thinker until middle age, Mallac joined the Jesuits upon his conversion. A 'fierce follower of Aristotle', he found the UCD curriculum insufficiently 'Scholastic' or 'Peripatetic', and in his zeal to rectify the situation managed to split the student body into opposing camps of 'broader and narrower Aristotelians'. As a result of this divisive influence, he was recalled to France.¹⁸ Magennis appears to have assumed the mantle of thomist zealot; closely involved in student activities he championed on every occasion the philosophy of St Thomas. Referring to a new society within the College, the Academy of St Thomas Aquinas, in November 1901, the history of the College states: 'The leading spirit of this new development was Professor Magennis, who was at this time surrounded by a militant group of his own philosophical students, just as he himself had been a prominent member of the early group.' His contribution to the inaugural

debate was a proclamation of Aquinas' timeless supremacy: '[T]he principles of St. Thomas Aquinas are the true principles of reason in every department. There can be no changing what is unchangeable. St. Thomas' philosophy needs no reconstruction or readaptation, but we should attend to the form of its delivery; we should speak and write not in an unknown tongue but in language understandable.'¹⁹ Significant from our point of view is the fact that Joyce was one of the few students present at that inaugural meeting. The American scholar Kevin Sullivan, who stressed the specifically thomistic atmosphere in the college, carefully examined the minutes of the Academy of St Thomas Aquinas before they unfortunately went missing, and corrected William T. Noon's statement that Joyce appeared to have taken no part in the foundation of this society.²⁰ According to Joyce's classmate, William G. Fallon, Magennis exercised considerable influence on the young writer: 'Joyce availed of opportunities to meet Professor William Magennis and during the succeeding years they frequently conversed in the precincts of the College or following a meeting of the Literary and Historical Society.' It was Magennis who advised Joyce to read Cardinal Newman's autobiography *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*.²¹ The minutes of the Library Conference of the Sodality show that Magennis presided on 2 February 1902, when Joyce attended – on the evening of his twentieth birthday – a paper delivered by his friend J. F. Byrne on *The Imitation of Christ*.²² He was also in the chair for both of Joyce's papers to the L&H, 'Drama and Life' and that on James Clarence Mangan. He later told Curran that he admired both performances.²³ It is unlikely the independent minded Joyce would have frequently engaged with Magennis were he not to some degree sympathetic to his ardent thomism; this explains perhaps the background for the profession that he was 'steeped in the school of old Aquinas'.

Professor Magennis makes an appearance in *Aeolus*, where he is described as 'a man of the very highest morale'. Subsequent events would indeed bear this out. As chairman of the Censorship Board, and a member of the Irish Senate, Magennis was for decades the arch-conservative guardian of national morals. Commenting on the task of the Censorship Board he remarked: 'Beelzebub's demons of hell could not write worse than some works we have been obliged to read and report on to the Minister. They are vile beyond description.' We can only imagine what Magennis made of the most famous novel of the century, penned by the former pupil of Belvedere – his own alma mater – to whom he had, as examiner, awarded the Intermediate Senior Grade prize for English composition.

We turn our attention now to those philosophical handbooks which William Delany believed would assure the Catholic character of philosophy

at University College, Dublin, and which I suggest were the primary instruments of Joyce's education in logic, aesthetics and philosophy. Joyce himself refers to these volumes in *Stephen Hero*, referring to Cranly's friend, O'Neill, whom he observed in the National Library: 'He was very busy all the summer reading philosophical handbooks' (SH 148). The handbooks in question were the *Manuals of Catholic Philosophy*, an attractively produced series published by the Jesuits of Stonyhurst throughout the 1890s, and which became the prescribed texts for philosophy courses in UCD. These handbooks were the primary source not only for Joyce's aesthetic ideas, but for most of his knowledge of both Aristotle and Aquinas. Curran confirms: 'These Stonyhurst manuals would have escaped the attention of no intelligent student in the College; Joyce could have got what he wanted from them in half an hour.'²⁴ The importance of these manuals has, however, been unrecognised; Curran's remarks are worth citing at length. Having spoken of Fr Darlington's importance, he states:

As to Aquinas, I must also mention Boedder's *Natural Theology*, the textbook used in the class of religious doctrine open to all students. He had a page or two on Thomistic aesthetics starting out with *pulchra enim dicuntur ea quae visa placent*. [John] Rickaby's *General Metaphysics* was read in the philosophy classes. Joyce could not but have seen it in the hands of his friends who were reading philosophy including, for example, J. F. Byrne (Cranly), who sat at the same table with him in the National Library and at least in the first week of the term would have opened its pages. Rickaby, between pages 148 and 151, holds the marrow of Joyce's aesthetics. It is Rickaby who quotes from St Thomas well nigh all that Joyce uses touching the good and the beautiful which by its mere contemplation sets the appetite at rest. He discusses its unity, or *integritas*, its harmony of parts or *consonantia*, and its clear lustre, or *claritas*; commonplaces, it may be said.²⁵

Curran mentions only two of the series, Rickaby's *General Metaphysics* and Boedder's *Natural Theology*. Joyce's Trieste library included the *Psychology* volume by Delany's nephew, Michael Maher. While Joyce only gained a mark of 240 out of 900 in the Logic examination of 1901 (JJ 756) we may presume that he consulted the *Logic* manual by Richard F. Clarke, SJ, which contains an account of Aristotle's distinction between nominal and essential definitions, referred to in *A Portrait* (P 192). In another volume by Rickaby, *First Principles of Knowledge*,²⁶ Joyce could read, among other important quotations, Aristotle's phrase 'The soul is in a manner all things', which features prominently in 'Nestor'. Due to his rejection of Catholic moral teaching, it is less sure that Joyce read the Stonyhurst volume on *Moral Philosophy* (*Ethics and Natural Law*) written by Rickaby's brother and religious confrère, Joseph. Had he consulted Joseph Rickaby's two volumes

of ethical texts from Aquinas, Joyce could have found an alternative translation of one of Aquinas' central texts on aesthetics to that provided by John Rickaby in his *General Metaphysics* manual.²⁷

Father Noon speculated unnecessarily and at great length about the sources for Joyce's 'pennyworth of thomism'. Everything Joyce needed was available in the Manuals of Catholic Philosophy. There is perhaps feigned modesty in Stephen's claim to the dean of studies: 'For my purpose I can work on at present by the light of one or two ideas of Aristotle and Aquinas' (P 187). Ellmann tellingly observes: 'Inspired cribbing was always part of James's talent; his gift was for transforming material, not for originating it ... As he remarked in later life to Frank Budgen, "Have you ever noticed, when you get an idea, how much *I* can make of it?"'²⁸ Joyce did not require exhaustive knowledge of the thomist corpus to convince himself that his theories were essentially thomist, although adapted to his own secular aesthetic. Aquinas clearly occupied for him a position of great authority.

We get an idea of Joyce's high regard for Aquinas from his reference in the lecture 'Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages' (1907) to Petrus Hibernicus, 'the theologian who had the supreme task of educating the mind of the author of the scholastic apology, *Summa contra Gentiles*, St Thomas Aquinas, perhaps the keenest and clearest mind that human history has ever seen' (OCPW 114). It is significant that Joyce refers to the *Summa contra Gentiles* rather than Aquinas' more famous *Summa Theologiae*. We have it on Gogarty's authority that Joyce was thoroughly familiar with the *contra Gentiles*. He described life in the Martello Tower at Sandycove: 'Thus we lived in privacy and profanity. I could take it easy on the roof, for I shunned work; Joyce could remain downstairs forever reading and rereading his "*Contra Gentiles*", an early essay against everybody.'²⁹ The *Contra Gentiles* receives dubious mention, moreover, in *Ulysses*: 'I called upon the bard Kinch at his summer residence in upper Mecklenburgh street and found him deep in the study of the *Summa contra Gentiles* in the company of two gonorrheal ladies, Fresh Nelly and Rosalie, the coalquay whore' (U 9.1088–91).

Joyce was deeply acquainted with the *Contra Gentiles*. His Trieste library included an edition published in Paris in 1906;³⁰ he was reading the work, however, at least three years earlier. Unlike Aquinas' enormous *Summa Theologiae*, the *Contra Gentiles* was contained in a compact volume and could serve as an ideal *vade mecum*; it was for a period Joyce's daily breviary. Rather than being an 'early essay against everybody', as Gogarty has it, the *Contra Gentiles* is positive in style and intention, amply illustrating Joyce's

opinion that Aquinas was the most lucid of all. Gogarty's comment reflects his own repeated prejudices against Aquinas.

In 1913 or 1914 Joyce went to the expense of ordering Joseph Rickaby's magnificent folio-sized translation of Aquinas' *Summa contra Gentiles*, published in 1905.³¹ Responding in November 1927 to a query from Ezra Pound (who presumed Joyce was an authority on Aquinas) regarding the phrase 'natural dimostramento' from Guido Cavalcanti, Joyce replied that he could not find the phrase 'in Father Richeby's [*sic*] enormous edition of Aquinas or in the French one I have'. He continues: 'The scholastic machinery of the process of thought is very intricate, *verbum mentale* and all the rest of it ... These philosophical terms are such tricky bombs that I am shy of handling them, being afraid they may go off in my hands' (*L* III 166).

We also have evidence from Stanislaus Joyce that James was reading the *Summa contra Gentiles* in 1903. Prompted either by Yeats' encouragement or the desire to earn money, James asked Stanislaus to suggest titles for some essays. Stanislaus later recorded:

I made out a list of half a dozen or so, of which I remember 'Revellers', 'Athletic Beauty', 'A Portrait of the Artist' ..., '*Contra Gentiles*' (Jim was reading the *Summa*; I knew only the title, but it struck me as a good one for a modern essay), ... Nothing came of it for the moment; he wrote no essay then, but he spoke to Gogarty of his intention to write an essay and call it '*Contra Gentiles*'. A short time afterwards Gogarty produced an essay with that title, and showed it to my brother. Jim read the essay, and then turned down and creased and neatly tore off the top of the page that bore the title. Gogarty pooh-poohed the gesture, and made some rambling statement about 'all of us using the same alphabet'. (*MBK* 242ff)

Interestingly Stanislaus also uses this title to explain his brother's motivation in writing 'Drama and Life'; as with 'The Day of the Rabblement', and the essay on Mangan, 'his reason for doing so was also the same. In it he was defining his position to himself and against others – *contra Gentiles*' (*MBK* 128).

In 'Scylla et Charybdis' a phrase is quoted from *Contra Gentiles* – referred to in standard commentaries as 'source unknown'. It is from Book 3, chapter 125, where Aquinas argues that marriage should not take place between blood relatives: '*Amplius. In societate humana hoc est maxime necessarium ut sit amicitia inter multos.*' Joseph Rickaby's translation of the passage ('In human society the widening of friendships is of the first importance')³² is rather loose, which confirms the hint in *Ulysses* that Joyce was relying on the original text: 'Saint Thomas, Stephen, smiling, said, whose gorbellied works I enjoy reading in the original, writing of incest from a standpoint different from that of the new Viennese school Mr Magee

spoke of, likens it in his wise and curious way to an avarice of the emotions' (U 9.778–81). The thomistic character of the ensuing discussion lies beyond the ambit of the present paper.

We also have the evidence of some of his continental language pupils for Joyce's enthusiasm for Aquinas. Ellmann records that he tried to choke one pupil's enthusiasm for Schopenhauer and Nietzsche 'by urging that Thomas Aquinas was the greatest philosopher because his reasoning was "like a sharp sword". He read him, he said, in Latin, a page a day' (JJ 342). Another student reported that 'A favourite subject was Thomistic morality, about which Joyce theorized with precision and ingenuity' (JJ 340). He also confessed to Robert McAlmon, an American writer whose company he enjoyed in Paris, that 'his favourite authors were Cardinal Newman and St Thomas Aquinas'.³³

A survey of Joyce's thomistic sources would be incomplete without reference to the only work mentioned by name in *A Portrait*. We are told that in his search for the essence of beauty, Stephen's inspiration was 'only a garner of slender sentences from Aristotle's poetics and psychology and a *Synopsis Philosophiae Scholasticae ad Mentem Divi Thomae*' (191). Jacques Aubert, to whom we are greatly indebted for having discovered the actual work, correctly explains: 'this *Synopsis* is not fictional; it has actual bibliographic existence'.³⁴ While it even has physical existence, its use in *Portrait* is in all likelihood, however, no more than fictional: the title suited Joyce's purpose, as it suggested pithily the kind of volume likely to contain the pennyworth of thomism needed to stimulate creatively a personal aesthetic. Joyce entered in his Paris notebook the title and call number in the Bibliothèque de Sainte Geneviève: FOL R SUP 5 – the number still in use today. There is no evidence that he drew any influence from the work; the only hint that he may have consulted it is the word 'slender'. The work summarises in telegraphic style ('slender sentences') the main doctrines of thomist philosophy in its various branches, followed by a catalogue listing the errors of subsequent thinkers. The *Synopsis* is not strictly a book, rather a seventy-one-page folio-sized *aide-memoire* intended for use by seminarists in the diocese of Cambrai. The Bibliothèque edition is the Roger and Chernoviz (1892). No author is given, but the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale names its author as Abbé D. Choisonard.

Joyce's protestation that he was 'stealed in the school of old Aquinas' was more than just a shibboleth. The frequent references in his writings to St Thomas, in particular Stephen's appeal to Aquinas in support of his aesthetic programme, provide sufficient proof of Joyce's debt to the medieval master. The extrinsic evidence, with which I have been concerned, is a

less important confirmation. Jacques Aubert, author of the most systematic study of Joyce's aesthetics to date, proposes a different scenario, suggesting that hasty and oversimplified references to Thomas Aquinas constitute 'a particularly bright red herring'.³⁵ He has argued that the real inspiration for Joyce's aesthetic theories is Hegel, filtered through scholars such as Butcher and Bosanquet. This is a daring interpretation, particularly in view of the fact that not a single mention of Hegel is to be found in the entire Joycean corpus. The case for Aquinas is overwhelming; repeated allusions by the author, a wealth of evidences, the reports of classmates, friends and pupils, the ambience of his educational environment: these are more than a false scent to put us off our track. There can be little doubt of Joyce's considerable debt to his thomist masters and in the first place to Aquinas himself.

NOTES

1. See Willard Potts, ed., *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1979), p. 71.
2. See 'Allwisest Stagyrite'. *Joyce's Quotations from Aristotle* (Dublin: National Library of Ireland, 2005). Also 'Joyce and Aristotle', in Anne Fogarty and Fran O'Rourke, eds., *James Joyce: Multidisciplinary Approaches* (forthcoming).
3. Jacques Aubert, *The Aesthetics of James Joyce* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), p. 4.
4. William T. Noon, *Joyce and Aquinas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), p. 3.
5. See Thomas J. Morrissey SJ, *Towards a National University. William Delany SJ (1835–1924). An Era of Initiative in Irish Education* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1983). Also Aubrey Gwynn, SJ, 'The Jesuit Fathers and University College', in Michael Tierney, ed., *Struggle With Fortune. A Miscellany for the Centenary of the Catholic University of Ireland 1854–1954* (Dublin: Browne & Nolan, 1954), pp. 19–50.
6. Thomas J. Morrissey, SJ, *Thomas A. Finlay SJ, 1848–1940: Educationalist, Editor, Social Reformer* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2004), p. 25.
7. Morrissey, *Delany*, p. 99.
8. Morrissey, *Finlay*, p. 25.
9. *Ibid.*
10. C. P. Curran, *Under the Receding Wave* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1970), p. 80ff; Tierney, ed., *Struggle*, p. 226.
11. Morrissey, *Finlay*, p. 26.
12. Albert Stöckl, *Handbook of the History of Philosophy*, 1: *Pre-Scholastic Philosophy*, trans. T. A. Finlay, SJ, MA (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1887).
13. J. F. Byrne, *Silent Years. An Autobiography with Memoirs of James Joyce and our Ireland* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1953), p. 38.
14. Tierney, ed., *Struggle*, p. 226.
15. Morrissey, *Finlay*, p. 45.

16. *A Page of Irish History: Story of University College, Dublin 1883–1909*, compiled by Fathers of the Society of Jesus (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1930), p. 219.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 351.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
19. Kevin Sullivan, *Joyce Among the Jesuits* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 169.
20. Noon, *Joyce and Aquinas*, p. 4.
21. William G. Fallon in Ulick O'Connor, ed., *The Joyce We Knew* (Cork: Mercier Press, 1967), p. 51.
22. *A Page of Irish History*, p. 442.
23. C. P. Curran, *James Joyce Remembered* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 11.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 36ff.
26. John Rickaby, *First Principles of Knowledge* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1896), p. 7.
27. *Summa Theologiae* T I–II, 27, art. 1 ad 3. See Joseph Rickaby, *Aquinas Ethicus* (London: Burns and Oates, 1896), p. 95.
28. Frank Budgen, *James Joyce and the Making of 'Ulysses', and Other Writings* [1934] (London: Oxford University Press, 1972).
29. See E. H. Mikhail, ed., *James Joyce. Interviews and Recollections* (London: Macmillan, 1990), p. 27.
30. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Philosophica seu De Veritate Catholicae Fidei Contra Gentiles*, Editio nova et emendata (Parisiis: Sumptibus et Typis P. Lethielleux, Editoris, 1906).
31. Thomas Aquinas, *Of God and His Creatures*, an annotated translation by Joseph Rickaby SJ (London: Burns and Oates, 1905). See JJ 779 n. 30.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 288. A more complete translation: 'Moreover, in human society it is most necessary that there be friendship among many people.'
33. See Mikhail, ed., *James Joyce. Interviews and Recollections*, p. 103.
34. Aubert, *The Aesthetics of James Joyce*, p. 100.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 3ff.

*Religion**Geert Lernout*

When in 1959 Richard Ellmann opened his biography with the statement ‘We are still learning to be James Joyce’s contemporaries’, he could not have known how much some of his readers were still part of the culture in which Joyce’s books had been written. The world had changed, changed utterly, in the Second World War, but in the field of the religion in which Joyce grew up, these changes would only register a few years after the first edition of Ellmann’s book. The start of Vatican II in 1962 marked the beginning of the Catholic Church’s long-awaited coming to terms with modernity. Although this was probably good news for Catholics, one effect of this belated modernisation was certainly that the world described in Joyce’s works became much more alien to Catholic readers.¹ For these readers, passages in ‘The Sisters’, in *Stephen Hero*, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and in some chapters of *Ulysses* may well be as strange today as they always were for non-Catholic readers. When we want to read Joyce’s works in their context, we must be aware that this particular religious past is even more of a foreign country than we might imagine.

When Joyce refers to the rites, traditions or doctrines of the Catholic Church, he is writing of the Church which, like the boy in ‘The Sisters’, he himself grew up in, and not of the Catholic Church of Pope Benedict XVI. It is the Church that describes itself on the pages of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1907–13) and more specifically, it is the Church Militant that functioned in Ireland in all but name as an established church. This is the Church that Joyce, in a 1904 letter to his fiancée, claimed he had left ‘six years ago’ in order to fight it secretly, but now ‘I make open war upon it by what I write and say and do’ (*L* II 48). This is also the Church that in return rejected his work unambiguously: Shane Leslie (writing as ‘Domini Canis’, dog of the Lord), opened his review of *Ulysses* with the statement that since Valéry Larbaud and major British critics have praised the book, ‘and since the entire setting of this book is Catholic Dublin, and since the seven hundred pages contain a fearful travesty on persons, happenings and

intimate life of the most morbid and sickening description, we say not only for the *Dublin Review* but for Dublin *écrasez l'infâme!*' (CH 1 200–1). Leslie makes it clear that he sees the book as an anti-Catholic attack by turning Voltaire's famous anti-clerical statement against the author of *Ulysses*. In his attack, he pulls out all the stops: the novel is 'the screed of one possessed' and he hopes that Catholic Irishmen will repudiate it (before actually reading it):

We speak advisedly when we say that though no formal condemnation has been pronounced, the Inquisition can only require its destruction or, at least, its removal from Catholic houses ... Having tasted and rejected the devilish drench, we most earnestly hope that this book be not only placed on the *Index Expurgatorius*, but that its reading and communication be made a reserved case. (CH 1 201)

For modern Catholic readers it seems strange that Leslie, a lay convert to Catholicism, without hesitation requests the book's censure: he wants it rejected without having been read, placed on the Index of Forbidden Books. This is the Irish-Catholic attitude to his work that Joyce had anticipated, that he actively solicited and that he was ultimately proud of: he would note and later use some of Leslie's comments about *Ulysses* in his description of the autobiographical Shem the Penman and of his handiwork in chapters 5 and 7 of Book 1 of *Finnegans Wake*.

Liberal Catholic critics have written a great deal about the nature of Joyce's Catholicism that may help non-Catholics to understand this aspect of his work, but their work tends to obscure the force of Joyce's attack on revealed religion in general and Catholicism in particular, turning his writings into a kind of intra-Catholic critique of those ideas and practices that disappeared after the Second Vatican Council.² In this essay I want to stress the radical nature of Joyce's critique of Catholicism in its original context.

First, we must position the Irish Catholicism into which Joyce was raised within the history of European Catholicism in the second half of the nineteenth century. In this period the Catholic Church was on the defensive in most European countries: the French revolution and the French invasion in the rest of Europe had attempted to demolish its organisation and infrastructure. Although the Holy See had forged an alliance with Napoleon, Waterloo saw the beginning of a restoration of the *ancien régime* that had the full support of the Church, despite attempts by liberal Catholics in France and Germany to achieve a more democratic relationship with the temporal powers. The Pope's battle against the new Italian nation for possession of the Papal States made him even less ready to accept liberal

and democratic movements in other countries with the result that the Catholic Church in the new democratic states had often more rights and freedom than in the traditional Catholic nations (despite the Piedmontese prime minister Count Cavour's famous statement that he favoured a free church in a free state, an idea shared by Leopold Bloom). At the First Vatican Council the hopes of liberal Catholics were dashed when liberal democracy, rationalism and materialism were condemned and the Church's absolute authority on all societal and scientific matters was reaffirmed. The final victory of the conservatives (led by the English Cardinal Manning) came with the affirmation of Papal Infallibility in 1870. In the final decade of the century, the pressure of Protestant historical work on the Bible and on the history of the early Church convinced an important number of 'modernist' Catholics that a critical and historical study of the Bible and of patristic literature was necessary to defend the doctrine. This movement was only stopped in 1909 when Pope Pius X issued a strongly worded encyclical *Pascendi* condemning all modernist tendencies as a 'delirium', an 'insanity' and a 'monstrosity'.

The result of these developments was an increased centralisation of power in Rome which exercised greater control over national and local churches, especially over the training of priests and the education of young Catholics. The Church of Rome seemed to have formally and finally rejected parliamentary democracy, science, the study of history and all other elements of what conservative Catholics call, in the words of Pius X, the 'synthesis of all heresies'.

Ironically the Catholic Church of Joyce's youth owed its considerable political power to democracy: the British parliament first proclaimed Catholic Emancipation and from that moment no democratically elected British government could fail to acknowledge the special role of the Catholic Church in Ireland. By the end of the nineteenth century the Irish Catholic Church had come to be treated as an established church. This result was itself the outcome of the Irish hierarchy's battle against their former ally Charles Stewart Parnell, which plays such an important role in the first chapter of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and which marked a new stage in the relations between the Church and the representatives of the Irish parliamentary party on the one hand and between the Church and the British government on the other.³

By the beginning of the new century the hierarchy of the Irish Catholic Church had acquired so much power in the cultural, economic and political life of Ireland that it had effectively taken over many of the duties of the civil state. This at least was the thesis of the 1902 book *Priests and People in*

Ireland by the Catholic layman Michael J.F. McCarthy, in which he describes how in the second half of the nineteenth century the sacerdotal organisation of the Irish Catholic Church had evolved into a power hungry machine that controlled almost every aspect of public life without being in any way accountable. Characteristically, *Priests and People in Ireland* opens with a quotation from a speech by the King of Italy who earlier that year had declared the strict separation of Church and State. In great detail McCarthy documents the increasing control of the Church over every aspect of social life in Ireland, especially in education and in the social services. In the half-century after the Famine, Ireland had rapidly become a 'priest-ridden country': the number of priests, monks and nuns rose from 5,955 in 1861 to 14,145 in 1901, while the population of the country dropped by a third in the same period.⁴

Although Ireland never had the kind of anti-clerical freethought movements that were so active in Germany, Italy, France and Great Britain, the Parnell crisis had convinced a considerable group of nationalist Catholics that the church hierarchy was not to be trusted. In Ireland anti-clericalism was partly social and partly political and Joyce did not have to look very far to find critics of the Church: anti-clerical attitudes ran in his family, and his father's biographers John Wyse Jackson and Peter Costello have traced these positions back at least to his father's grandfather. As they show, Joyce's ancestors were initially critical of the clergy as they believed they belonged to an inferior social class. Catholic anti-clericalism was represented in his own immediate family by his father John Stanislaus, while similar ideas also colour the views of his fictional equivalent, Simon Dedalus. Although he began life as a fervent Catholic, John Stanislaus Joyce was anti-clerical most of his life and these attitudes were considerably strengthened during the years of the Parnell battles. Later in life, James Joyce showed himself to be proud of this anti-clerical family tradition, but when we look at his own accounts of his estrangement from the Church, it is clear that his own crisis of faith had probably more to do with sexual and aesthetic issues than with political ones.

It should not be forgotten that at the turn of the century most of the Dublin cultural elite was non-Catholic and in at least one case, that of George Moore, militantly anti-Catholic. As a young Catholic Moore had become a Kantian atheist and his role in the Irish Renaissance movement seems to have been that of a French-style freethinker. Both the collection of short stories and the novel that he published during his Dublin years are marked by the thesis that Catholicism is the mortal enemy of life and art. As we know from his own account in *Hail and Farewell* his Dublin years

were particularly marked by anti-clericalism. Not only did he spend almost the whole period fighting censorship and church influence in the nationalist movement, but his most important writings, including most of the short stories in *The Untilled Field* as well as the novel *The Lake* all deal with the influence of priests on Irish life. The stories in the former book describe the detrimental influence of the Church in rural Ireland where the priest rules supreme and where anyone who is creative or critical is driven away. In addition, both *The Untilled Field* and *The Lake* were thoroughly European books, part of the anti-religious aesthetic and literary tradition that included Flaubert and Ibsen and that Joyce yearned to introduce in Ireland. Moore had been there before him.

If we can trust the evidence of the autobiographical characters in Joyce's fiction, it is clear that Joyce's own collection of short stories and his first two novels were written from a perspective on the role of the Irish Church that was not too different to Moore's. In many ways *Dubliners* did with urban Irishmen what Moore had done with their mostly rural counterparts in *The Untilled Field*. Although the mysteries and secrets of the Church exert a great power over the young hero of 'The Sisters', the role of the Church in the lives of the different characters is entirely negative. Reading the early pages of *Stephen Hero*, Stanislaus would justly comment in his diary that 'the Catholic Church comes in for a bad quarter of an hour' (*DD* 25).

The early years of the new century in which Joyce was starting out on his career as a writer were momentous for the Catholic Church in modern Europe. Not only did the kingdom of Italy and the French republic institute a policy of radical separation between Church and State in 1902 and 1905, but in this period the modernist crisis was finally resolved in favour of the anti-modernists. If we look at the evidence in Joyce's letters to his brother, it is clear that the period between 1904 and 1914 probably marked the high point of his quarrel with the Church of Rome. While living in Rome, Joyce read the violently anti-clerical magazine *L'Asino*, he was present at the demonstrations commemorating the martyrdom of the freethought hero, Giordano Bruno, and his comments in the letters to his brother reveal a profound enmity against both the Church in general and in its Irish form in particular. This attitude is still clearly visible in *A Portrait* and *Ulysses*, although the rejection of religion in the latter book is thematised in two different ways. On the one hand Joyce makes Stephen Dedalus the bitter and fanatical enemy of religion who seems to be a direct heir of the Stephen of the *non serviam* in the final chapter of *A Portrait*. But a drunken bard haunted by the ghost of his mother and by the *dio boia* that he holds responsible for her death does not suggest that Stephen is winning what his

creator described in the letter to Nora as the 'open war' he was waging upon the Catholic Church.

As long as he is sober, Stephen is strangely reluctant to own up to his rejection of the Church and instead some of the most powerful anti-clerical and anti-religious comments are made by his friends Buck Mulligan and Kevin Egan. It is Egan who seems to have introduced Stephen in Paris to the blasphemous version of the New Testament written by the notorious French freethinker Léo Taxil. Buck Mulligan blasphemes almost continually, while Stephen carefully avoids using the Lord's name in vain. Mulligan finds it difficult to speak even a single sentence without mentioning the divinity and in addition he composes and performs the blasphemous 'Ballad of Joking Jesus'. Almost every time we see him he speaks of religion. In the DBC, Mulligan tells Haines that Stephen will never be able to write because the church 'drove his wits astray ... by visions of hell. He will never capture the Attic note. The note of Swinburne, of all poets, the white death and the ruddy birth' (*U* 10.1072-4). It is interesting to see how close Joyce here comes to the thinking in this period of Oliver St John Gogarty, the original of Buck Mulligan.⁵ In the library chapter Buck slyly refers to Ernst Haeckel's conclusion that an anthropomorphic Divinity must by necessity be a 'gaseous vertebrate', not accidentally a part of Haeckel's discussion of the pantheism of Spinoza and Bruno that he saw as the precursor of his own 'monist' alternative to religious faith. Quoting Schopenhauer, Haeckel writes that 'Pantheism is only a polite form of atheism.' These thoughts were published in Haeckel's *The Riddle of the Universe at the Close of the Nineteenth Century*, one of the most influential European books of free-thinking. It was translated into English in 1900 and from 1904 onwards was distributed in cheap editions by the Rationalist Press in London.⁶

It is also in the library chapter that we observe at close range for the last time a still relatively sober Stephen and although his thoughts are mainly occupied by his *Hamlet* performance, religion is never far from his mind. At the very beginning of the episode, Stephen ridicules AE's neo-Platonism as a would-be Christianity: 'Formless spiritual. Father, Word and Holy Breath. Allfather, the heavenly man. Hiesos Kristos, magician of the beautiful, the Logos who suffers in us at every moment. This verily is that' (*U* 9.61-3). The clearest expression of his feelings comes when Mulligan enters the room with a characteristic 'Amen!': Stephen mentally places him among the 'brood of mockers' who include the socialist Johann Most.

In 'Oxen of the Sun' Stephen, no longer sober, appears as 'Div. Scep.' or Sceptic in Divinity, and suggests that infant mortality may be explained by the presence of an omnivorous God who eats 'cancerous females emaciated

by parturition' might also find 'gastric relief in an innocent collation of staggering bob', which is later defined as 'the cookable and eatable flesh of a calf newly dropped from its mother' (*U* 14.1289–99). This is Stephen's strongest statement against the *dio boia* that he later challenges directly in the confrontation with the ghost of his mother.

Stephen's clearly unsuccessful campaign against God and His Church is only one of two attitudes towards religion in the book and it is no accident that Stephen's outburst in the Maternity Hospital is answered by Leopold Bloom. While Stephen is clearly losing his battle against his demon-God, Bloom seems to have moved beyond religion. It is only with the mild interest of an outsider that he observes the religious observances of his Catholic neighbours, although he is particularly interested in the economic and psychological benefits of religion, a sign, this, that Bloom believes with Karl Marx that religion is the opium of the people. It is no coincidence that his closest observation of Catholic observance occurs in the Lestrygonians chapter. Elsewhere in the book Bloom contemplates on how Irish mothers are constrained to live the effects of the Church's teachings on procreation. The hypocrisy of Catholicism towards sexuality is exposed when Bloom's voyeuristic adventure with Gerty plays against the background of the service of 'rosary, sermon and benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament' in the church of Mary Star of the Sea where the participants in 'the men's temperance retreat' will recite 'the old familiar words, holy Mary, holy virgin of virgins' (*U* 13.282–9).

If Stephen represents youthful rebellion against religion and Bloom stands for the full acceptance of its absence, Molly is given the last word and it is clear from the beginning of her monologue that unlike Stephen and Bloom she does not hesitate to refer to the Deity, even in moments when it might be thought to be highly inappropriate: 'I was coming for about 5 minutes with my legs round him I had to hug him after O Lord I wanted to shout all sort of things fuck or shit or anything at all' (*U* 18.587–8) or 'O much about it if thats all the harm ever we did in this wake of tears God knows its not much doesnt everybody only they hide it I suppose thats what a woman is supposed to be there for or He wouldnt have made us the way He did so attractive to men' (*U* 18.1517–20).

We also learn from Molly that Bloom has always been an atheist who has tried to convert her by claiming that Jesus was the first socialist (*U* 18.178), that we 'have no soul inside only grey matter' (*U* 18.141–2) and that Buddhism is a greater religion than Christianity or Judaism (*U* 18.1204). He has even spoken of Spinoza ('thats dead I suppose millions of years ago' *U* 18.1115–16) but none of his talk has convinced her. At the end of her monologue we read:

God of heaven theres nothing like nature the wild mountains then the sea and the waves rushing then the beautiful country with the fields of oats and wheat and all kinds of things and all the fine cattle going about that would do you heart good to see rivers and lakes and flowers all sorts of shapes and smells and colours springing up even out of the ditches primroses and violets nature it is as for their learning why dont they go and create something I often asked him atheists or whatever they call themselves go and wash the cobbles off themselves first and then they go howling for the priest and they dying and why why because theyre afraid of hell on account of their bad conscience ah yes I know them well. (U 18.158–68)

But apart from the fact that Molly's comments about the atheist condition can apply to both Stephen and Bloom, it is clear that she is unaware that her ode to nature and her constant exclusive attention to her bodily well-being only manage to confirm Spinoza's pantheist philosophy.

Ulysses is an encyclopaedic novel with many themes, and religion is only one of these. The emphasis in *Ulysses* scholarship on Catholic ritual has tended to obscure the role of Joyce's clear critique of religion that is expressed explicitly by both the main characters and at least implicitly in the novel's final chapter.

The refreshing distance from religion of a non-observant and pork-eating Jew may have more than a little to do with the strange mixture of religions, cultures and languages that Joyce had found in Trieste. We know that, already in Trieste and later in Zurich and Paris, Joyce continued to be fascinated by religious rituals. The work on the *Finnegans Wake* notebooks at Buffalo has revealed that in the 1920s and 1930s the theme of religion or its lack, of belief and unbelief were still relevant to his work. When Joyce began to collect materials for the new book, he almost immediately started to read and annotate romantic books on Irish saints and scholars and among the early sketches were portraits of Saint Kevin and Saint Patrick. Early Irish Catholicism and especially its ascetic excesses seem to have fascinated him: in the next decades he would continue to return to it. It is in the notebooks too that we find Joyce harvesting information about Catholic lore and ritual from the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, a habit that would stay with him until the moment that 'Work in Progress' finally became *Finnegans Wake*.

But Joyce's interest in religion was not limited to Catholicism: early on in the development of HCE, he had decided to make this new hero, like Bloom, an outsider in terms both of nationality and of religion. Somewhat later, the opposition between ALP as river and nature and HCE as city and culture made it necessary to strengthen the latter's role as a builder of cities and founder of religions. Joyce read and annotated books on Mohammed, Buddha and Brigham Young. He also carefully

annotated Charles W. Ferguson's *The Confusion of Tongues*, a journalistic account of different religious sects in America (including atheists).

It is quite clear in the early drafts, as it is in the notebooks, that the conflict between HCE's sons is that between the Biblical Esau and Jacob, and between all the brother pairs in the book of Genesis: Joyce even collected notes from an even then already conservative Catholic Bible commentary.⁷ Shaun was going to be the angelic and priest-like younger brother and Joyce pulled all the stops in collecting materials for his character, from anti-Catholic and Protestant pamphlets such as the work on the Catholic confessional by Father Chiniquy that Bloom mentions in *Ulysses*. The conflict between Shem and Shaun was also mirrored in the schism between the Roman and the Greek Orthodox Churches over the *filioque* phrase that according to the Byzantine philosopher-bishop Photius (one of the brood of mockers mentioned in *Ulysses*) the Roman Church had wrongfully added to the Creed. When we study Joyce's reading over the years, we can only conclude that his interest in Catholicism and in religion in general lasted all his life.

At the same time, his comments about *Finnegans Wake* offer the possibility of reading it as a powerful challenge to the Creator and when we look at the book's first pages, echoes of the first books of the Bible are everywhere to be found. *Finnegans Wake* may have only one beginning, albeit the middle of a sentence, but 'Work in Progress' started a number of times. Joyce began with a number of sketches that he rather quickly abandoned and left aside until he reached the very end of his work on the book. But the one sketch he had decided to take as the basis of the new book had appropriately opened with the word 'genesis' and the story of HCE has all sorts of links with those of Adam, Cain, Lucifer and other Biblical heroes who had disobeyed Yahweh. When, in the autumn of 1926, Joyce wrote the real beginning of his book, chapter 1, 1, he made sure to pepper the first pages with plenty of references to the book of Genesis. *Finnegans Wake* was clearly meant to be a direct challenge to the Creator of the Universe.

Despite all the attempts over the years to salvage Joyce for the True Church, for Christianity or for any other creed, it is difficult to find unmistakable movements towards reconciliation with any form of religion, either in his work or in his life. In the thirties, his grandson had to be baptised without his knowledge and Nora, the one person who was close to him for most of his life, respected his wishes by declining to have a Catholic priest hold a service for her dead husband: 'I couldn't do that to him' (*JJ* 755).

Joyce rejected religion early on in his life and at least some of his works may have been written as part of the 'open war' against the Church

that he mentioned in the letter to Nora. In *Ulysses* Stephen Dedalus' near-pathological quarrel with the *dio boia* is self-destructive, but Leopold Bloom demonstrates how it is possible to be a decent human being without religion. One possible reading of *Finnegans Wake* is that the book represents Joyce's attempt to rival the powers of the demiurge by means of an alternative creation.

If we do not want to divorce Joyce's work completely from his life, it is hard to see what we could possibly gain by turning him into a Catholic writer as some recent critics have tried to do, usually via Dante.⁸ When we study Joyce's works in their original context, when we read his letters or the memoirs of his brother and of those that were closest to him, it is hard to claim the writer for any kind of Catholicism. Joyce did not think of himself as Catholic and technically, according to the rules of the Church of Rome, he stopped being a member of the Catholic Church when he failed to do his Easter duty in 1902.

NOTES

1. That the Second Vatican Council marked a break with the anti-democratic and anti-modernist stand of the Church was recognised by the present Pope when he wrote in a 1982 book on the principles of Catholic theology that the Council's closing document 'Gaudium et Spes' represents a 'counter-syllabus' (Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, *Principles of Catholic Theology*, trans. Sister Mary Frances McCarthy (Ft Collins, CO: Ignatius Press, 1987), pp. 381–2) and thus an answer to the complete rejection of modernity as it was expressed in the 1864 'Syllabus Errorum' of Pope Pius IX (supplemented in 1907 by a specifically anti-modernist 'Syllabus' by Pius X) and that led to the so-called 'Oath against Modernism' that was required of all priests between 1910 and 1967 on pain of excommunication. Not all contemporary Catholics agree with this assessment.
2. The most important works are William Noon, *Joyce and Aquinas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), Kevin Sullivan, *Joyce among the Jesuits* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963) and Richard Boyle, *James Joyce's Pauline Vision* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978).
3. For obvious reasons, the history of the political role of the Catholic Church in Ireland in the period between the Emancipation Act in 1829 and the establishment of the Free State in 1922 is a contentious subject in Irish history. Most illuminating was the work of Emmet Larkin who in a series of books has documented the particular development in only half a century of the Irish Church from being the only European Church that held on to pre-Tridentine devotions before the Famine, to the most 'Roman' of all Churches in Europe. In seven books listed in the bibliography Larkin processed an enormous number of documents to describe the relations between Church and State in Ireland between 1850 and the fall of Parnell.

4. McCarthy, statistics based on the Census of 1861 and that of 1901 in the 'Appendix'.
5. The basically Nietzschean opposition between Attic poetry and Christian belief is an important subtext in Gogarty's correspondence of the period with an English friend. See Oliver St John Gogarty, *Many Lines to Thee: Letters to G. K. A. Bell. From the Martello Tower at Sandycove, Rutland Square and Trinity College Dublin: 1904–1907*, ed. with a commentary by James F. Carens (Dublin: Dolmen Press, 1971).
6. Ernst Haeckel, *The Riddle of the Universe at the Close of the Nineteenth Century* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1900), pp. 288 and 291.
7. In her University of Antwerp dissertation, Inge Landuyt discovered that on pages 108–14 of Buffalo Notebook VI.B.6, Joyce collected notes from a commentary on Genesis by the Belgian Bible scholar Thomas Joseph Lamy, entitled *Commentarium in librum Geneseos* (Mechlini: H. Dessain, 1883). Full transcriptions of these notes can be found in Deane, Vincent, Daniel Ferrer and Geert Lernout, eds., *The Finnegans Wake Notebooks at Buffalo: Notebook VI.B.6* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).
8. See Stephen Sicari, *Joyce's Modernist Allegory: Ulysses and the History of the Novel* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001) and Gian Balsamo, *Rituals of Literature: Joyce, Dante, Aquinas, and the Tradition of Christian Epics* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2004).

CHAPTER 30

Science

Mark S. Morrisson

*The abnihilisation of the etym by the grising of the grosning of the grinder
of the grunder of the first lord of Hurtreford expolodotonates through
Parsuralia ...*

(FW 353.22–4)

In April 1919, the Nobel laureate nuclear physicist Ernest Rutherford sent papers to the *Philosophical Magazine* showing that he had completed the quest for the current Holy Grail of nuclear physics: he had been the first to disintegrate (or ‘split’) an atom and thus document an artificial transmutation of one element into another. Joyce, who likewise was splitting and reforming the ‘etym’s of language in *Finnegans Wake*, commemorated Rutherford’s achievement in Hurtreford’s expolodotonation, self-consciously raising the question of his novel’s relationship to the physics that was bringing into ‘view’ a subatomic world. The period during which Joyce published his major works – from the first *Dubliners* story in the *Irish Homestead* in 1904 to *Finnegans Wake* in 1939 – saw monumental changes in the way the physical sciences understood the nature of matter and energy. Joyce and his contemporaries witnessed several ‘paradigm shifts’, as Thomas Kuhn would call them. The discovery of x-rays by Röntgen in 1895, of radioactivity by Becquerel a few months later and of electrons in 1897 by J. J. Thomson helped set chemistry and physics on a path toward knowledge of the subatomic world. In 1901 and 1902, Soddy and Rutherford explained the mechanism of radioactivity as the disintegration of radioactive elements, and Rutherford soon discovered the proton. In 1913 Bohr used Planck’s constant to show that electrons only exist in specific states, and in 1923 and 1924, de Broglie used Einstein’s theory that photons exhibit properties of both waves and particles to show that electrons, too, have such dual properties. Key contributions were made to the nascence of quantum physics by Schrödinger and Born, and by Heisenberg, whose Uncertainty Principle (1927) stated that one cannot simultaneously know both a particle’s exact position and its velocity. Einstein’s Special Theory of Relativity, published

in 1905, and his General Theory of Relativity (1915) were first given broad publicity outside the small world of physics only when an eclipse in 1919 was used to provide experimental verification of the theory. Just as relativity and quantum mechanics were transforming our understanding of both the macrocosm of space-time and the microcosm of an alien subatomic world, astronomy was also completely revising its understanding of the galaxy and universe. Indeed, in 1924, Edwin Hubble showed that the so-called spiral nebulae that had previously been thought to be part of our galaxy were, in fact, other galaxies far beyond the boundaries of our own. Quantum physics and General Relativity showed that the universe was much stranger than we had imagined – and Hubble showed that it was much bigger and more complex.

For more than half of a century, scholars have commented on Joyce's use of science in his fiction, exploring how he responded to the scientific revolutions of his day, and sometimes making extreme claims for the scientific nature of Joyce's work. Yet Joyce himself had a fairly limited scientific education. As Salvadori and Schwartzman concluded from Joyce's performance in science exams while at Belvedere College: 'the only subject in the mathematics and sciences for which Joyce had any natural aptitude was arithmetic ... In the sciences (natural philosophy – i.e., physics and chemistry) Joyce's scores consistently ran a short gamut from mediocre to abysmal.'¹ Perhaps unsurprisingly, his language proficiency was extraordinary: he achieved the highest score in all of Ireland in English composition two years in a row. As Joyce admitted to Harriet Shaw Weaver, 'I myself started to study medicine three times, in Dublin, Paris and again in Dublin. I would have been even more disastrous to society at large than I am in my present state had I continued. Perhaps I should have continued in spite of certain very adverse circumstances but for the fact that both in Ireland and in France chemistry is in the first year's course. I never could learn it or understand in the least what it is about' (*SL* 249). Indeed, his lowest exam score in 1895 was in chemistry, where he scored only 100 out of a possible 500 points (*JJ* 751 n. 23). Even in Joyce's later years, when he was clearly incorporating allusions to such cutting-edge science as relativity and quantum mechanics into *Finnegans Wake*, as S. B. Purdy notes, 'There is ... little evidence that Joyce knew more of the revolution going on in physics and cosmology during his lifetime than the newspapers would have told him, or that he read deeply in any other field of science.'²

Yet despite his limited formal scientific training and his haphazard following of scientific breakthroughs in the press, references to math and science appear throughout Joyce's fiction, from the geometry at the beginning of

'The Sisters' through the physics references in *Finnegans Wake*. So how are we to interpret this proliferation of scientific allusions in Joyce's texts? Are the scientific intrusions merely eclectic fragments of the broader culture Joyce wished to evoke, or something more foundational to Joyce's vision?

As Joyce's brother Stanislaus remarked, 'It will be obvious that whatever method there is in Jim's life is highly unscientific ... About science he knows "damn all" (i.e. nothing) ... [nevertheless] he is ever-ready to admit to the legitimacy of the scientist's raids outside his frontiers. The word "scientific" is always a word of praise in his mouth.'³ Even while searching for a space in modern life for aesthetic and even ecstatic experience, several modernist authors – take, for example, Ezra Pound, T. S. Eliot or Marianne Moore – nevertheless were endlessly fascinated by the precision and insight into the workings of the natural world provided by modern science. Ultimately, I believe, the science of Joyce's day likewise informed his understanding of modernity. In Joyce's Ireland, a fascination with the inner workings of the universe was no longer only the province of an elite intelligentsia, and astronomical facts and principles and an eclectic range of scientific knowledge could colour the everyday thoughts of an advertising canvasser wandering the streets of Dublin. Science provided Joyce with tools to help shape the psychological presentation of his characters. And by the time Joyce was writing his last novel, the new physics of relativity and of quantum mechanics had come to reinforce his sense of the linguistic possibilities of *Finnegans Wake* and of the philosophical underpinnings of the mind's saturation in both language and history. Joyce may have known 'damn all' about science, but scientific knowledge and its transformative role in modern culture were crucial to his work.

Joyce began the first story in *Dubliners*, 'The Sisters', with a geometrical reference – the gnomon – that Thomas Jackson Rice has read as a clue to interpreting the philosophical basis of the stories. The boy protagonist looks up at the window of the paralysed priest: 'I said softly to myself the word *paralysis*. It had always sounded strangely in my ears, like the word *gnomon* in the Euclid and the word *simony* in the Catechism' (*D* 1). Numerous commentators on the story have explored the implications of the gnomon for interpreting the boy's relationship to the priest, but Rice moves beyond these fairly constrained readings to ask questions about the role of Euclid in *Dubliners*. Euclid's geometry, understood as a science of the objective world, Rice explains, became important to the Scholastic tradition, reaching back as far as St Augustine and influencing Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Descartes and becoming (through Joyce's Jesuit education) the perceptual model for the entire *Dubliners* collection.⁴

Rice and others note that these Euclidean underpinnings of *Dubliners*, and its realist style, began to give way in *Portrait*. Indeed, one place where this can be clearly seen is the first extended intrusion of scientific reference in Joyce's fiction, the university physics lecture Stephen Dedalus half-heartedly attends. David W. Robinson notes that the topics the physics professor discusses in his lecture are dizzyingly unrelated (e.g., formulas for motion, discussions of geometrical terms, electrodynamics and metallurgy): 'This lecture, in short, could not happen ... The scene is a wild parody of reality, not an imitation of it.'⁵ Robinson interprets the lecture as 'part of *A Portrait*'s final and decisive swing away from naturalism, a fulfilment of the anti-representationalist forces present from the first page, where language as tool and creative force already supplants language as medium of communication'.⁶ Scientific reference, then, becomes a literary strategy, a challenge to narrative assumptions, a break with the kind of naturalism that pervaded much of *Dubliners*. *Ulysses* would turn that break into a rupture.

The frequency, variety and significance of scientific and pseudo-scientific knowledge that Joyce worked into *Ulysses* far exceed those in any of his earlier work. Readers of *Ulysses* have long grappled with its wealth of scientific allusion, particularly in the catechistic Ithaca chapter. Littmann and Schweighauser, for example, explore in detail the astronomical allusions that dominate the chapter. Through the details of the various stars, constellations and astronomical principles invoked, they argue that Joyce solidifies the relationship between Stephen and Bloom: 'The significance of the shooting star which blazed overhead is that Bloom, the jew, has tuned Stephen's previously tuneless Lyre.'⁷ Some, such as Norman Weinstein, have found poetry in the scientific writing of the chapter.⁸ Others have determined that scientific inquiry 'is scathingly parodied, nowhere more than in "Ithaca"'.⁹ A careful examination of the chapter will also uncover scientific inaccuracies and faulty arithmetic in many of the seemingly objective and omniscient answers provided to the questions about the plot and characters.

Indeed, beyond even the occasionally faulty answers provided by the seemingly infallible objective respondent, the desire to simplify narrative and character into univocal objective explanation founders in Ithaca. Referring to Bloom and Stephen, the examiner asks: 'What two temperaments did they individually represent?' The answer given, 'The scientific. The artistic' (*U* 17.559–60), participates in the chapter's effort to provide clear systematic knowledge. Yet, again, it comes up short in that both characters share attributes of both sensibilities. Stephen, the poet, seeks to employ razor-sharp definitions and scientific and mathematical reasoning at times throughout the novel, and Bloom, whose thinking is riddled with

scientific and pseudo-scientific thinking, is shown in the Circe chapter as sharing with Stephen a reflection in a mirror as William Shakespeare (*U* 15.3821–2). As Lenehan puts it in Wandering Rocks, ‘There’s a touch of the artist about old Bloom’ (*U* 10.582–3). Joyce’s insight into the scientific culture of modernity is not only derived from the rhetorical forms of scientific writing, as one might read *Ithaca*. Rather, he captures the pervasiveness and the fascination of scientific culture and reasoning in the mind of his Dublin Everyman, Leopold Bloom.

Some scholars have interpreted *Ulysses* as exemplifying or at least paralleling many aspects of Einstein’s General Theory of Relativity and of quantum mechanics. One even went so far as to call *Ulysses* an ‘epic of relativity’.¹⁰ While such arguments are provocative, one must be cautious about anachronism or about pushing resemblances too far. Scholarship on modernist art and literature seems to be especially prone to overreaching with claims about Einsteinian space-time and relativity. The predominant art-historical reading of early cubism for many years was that it sought an aesthetics of space-time, of a *temporal* fourth dimension with roots in Einstein. However, as Linda Dalrymple Henderson has shown, the cubists were responding not to Einstein – whose theory of relativity, though published in 1905, was scarcely known outside scientific circles until 1919 – but rather to the science and mathematics of a *spatial* fourth dimension.¹¹

Some scholars, while advancing arguments about *Ulysses* as a quantum mechanical or relativistic text, are aware of such anachronisms. M. Keith Booker, for instance, argues that ‘many aspects of *Ulysses* are strikingly similar to concepts of modern physics (such as relativity and quantum mechanics) and ... these similarities may suggest philosophical affinities’.¹² Yet, he argues, ‘Joyce was certainly not trying to mimic quantum physics in his book ... If nothing else, such mimicry would have been precluded by the fact that most of the implications of quantum theory ... were announced in the period 1924–1927, after the first publication of *Ulysses* in 1922.’¹³ The physicist Alan J. Friedman likewise argued the problem of anachronism when ascribing quantum mechanical principles to *Ulysses*, given the time line of the emergence of the field.¹⁴

Alan David Perlis notes that in *Ithaca*, the ‘miasma of pseudo-scientific jargon in particular and characters’ multiple perceptions of the same event and their wildly various internal time clocks in general suggest that Joyce is an exemplar of relativity’. Yet he, too, sounds a needed caution:

if Joyce needed a predecessor or a contemporary to establish his credentials for demonstrating how different individuals perceive the same duration of clock time as different spans of internal time, he did not need to go to Einstein ... Bergson’s

'durée' and Proust's 'moment privilégié' could have served Joyce's fictional purposes better, their notions of perception being far less restrictive than Einstein's.¹⁵

Perlis notes that relativity might have been a preoccupation in a number of different arenas aside from physics, such as philosophy and psychology. Indeed, some scholars understand the mechanics of *Ulysses* to be 'constructed on a fairly Newtonian model'¹⁶ or even 'totally Newtonian'.¹⁷ One might see the linear time lines that Joyce used to order the work, and its emphasis on Dublin landmarks as sorting out space across time, as tying the novel to a Newtonian sensibility. Even Perlis, examining the 'Cyclops' chapter, among others, argues that *Ulysses* is, in fact, a thoroughly, even nightmarishly, Newtonian text, illustrating Newton's 'argument for the supremacy of the object world, for its behaviour as the embodiment of truth' by flooding the book with 'raw data', with a materiality that almost 'refin[es] out point of view from much of his narrative'.¹⁸ Friedman, the physicist, concludes: 'None of this critical material makes a strong case, at least for me, that *Ulysses* has a specific *content* connection with twentieth-century science ... I think we must wait, at least until *Finnegans Wake*, ... to find direct evidence of links between the two modern revolutions in science and James Joyce.' He adds: 'I contend that *Ulysses* examines the subjective human values in scientific style, rather than trying to apply any of Einstein's new findings themselves.'¹⁹

So, if *Ulysses* was not grappling with Einstein's relativity in any systematic way, or even in any way at all, of what significance *is* science to *Ulysses*? Bruce Clarke has brought the term 'scientism' to bear upon modernist literature (adapting the term from David Knight's *The Age of Science*) in a way that is useful for our consideration of Joyce's oeuvre. As Clarke explains, scientism 'denotes a broad cultural investment in science as a foundational discourse and a readiness to extend scientific terms and ideas to heterogeneous areas'.²⁰ Clarke examines 'modernist appropriations of vitalism, evolution, and thermodynamics', showing that Dora Marsden and other modernists 'apply this discursive amalgam of scientific and social ideologies' to political critiques.²¹

Joyce uses the scientism of his age as a mode of psychological insight and character development in *Ulysses*.²² Bloom's and Stephen's minds are both colonised by a wide range of scientific and technological knowledge, and even knowledge on the margins of contemporary science. Bloom's humanity and character come through in his musings on half-remembered physics knowledge, ranging from Archimedes' law and Newton's laws of gravity to astronomical knowledge, electromagnetism, wireless telegraphy and human

physiology. But his mind is also awash in technological daydreams and pseudo-science. He meanders through an amalgamation of the physics and technology of waves. He pushes wireless telegraphy to an extreme in Circe, as he imagines the reception of his 'message' to his 'Peers': '*Wireless intercontinental and interplanetary transmitters are set for reception of message*' (U 15.1500–3). Likewise, he connects the physiology of brainwaves to diet and to personality in Lestrygonians as he considers the 'dreamy, cloudy, symbolistic' esthetes, A. E. and his vegetarian, Theosophical circle: 'I wouldn't be surprised if it was that kind of food you see produces the like waves of the brain the poetical' (U 8.543–5). In a nod to the conflation during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries of the technologies of telegraphy and, eventually, wireless telegraphy with spiritualist contact with the dead through séances, Bloom muses in the cemetery about how the dead might be remembered – their voices might be recorded. In Hades the themes of loss and memory, so powerfully evoked in Stephen's nightmarish guilt towards his recently deceased mother, and Bloom's touching image of Rudy Bloom at the end of Circe, become an occasion for technological problem-solving in Bloom's mind:

Besides how could you remember everybody? Eyes, walk, voice. Well, the voice, yes: gramophone. Have a gramophone in every grave or keep it in the house. After dinner on a Sunday. Put on poor old greatgrandfather. Kraahraark! Hellohellohello amawfullyglad kraark awfullygladaseagain hellohello amawf krpthsth. Remind you of the voice like the photograph reminds you of the face' (U 6.962–7).

Stephen takes the appropriation of the physics of waves and acoustical recording even farther through invoking the Theosophical concept of the akashic records in Aeolus, imagining the voices of the dead not just as the speeches (rhetorical 'wind') by John F. Taylor, Daniel O'Connell and others remembered in the chapter, but as a noise with a physics that leaves a permanent record: 'The tribune's words, howled and scattered to the four winds. A people sheltered within his voice. Dead noise. Akasic records of all that ever anywhere wherever was' (U 7.881–3). The techno-scientific musings of both Bloom and Stephen cover a wide range of scientific and pseudo-scientific knowledges, including the theosophy, alchemy and spiritualism thriving in the Dublin occult revival, but often in ways that index their own psychological relationship to loss and memory.

If, as many commentators have shown, the claims to *Ulysses* invoking relativity and even quantum physics are troubled by a lack of compelling evidence, there is no doubt that by the time Joyce was immersed in writing *Finnegans Wake*, he was clearly aware of and fascinated by the new scientific

paradigms. As Burrell has suggested, chemistry and (to a slightly lesser extent) physics seem to be the most invoked sciences in *Finnegans Wake*.²³ Indeed, Joyce himself participates in scientism through his application of notions from relativity and quantum physics to non-scientific ends. Recent commentators, such as Andrzej Duszenko, have begun to work with the frequent allusions to Einstein and relativity and to quantum physics in the *Wake*. As Duszenko has pointed out, while Joyce had not read deeply in any of these scientific areas, 'his method consisted of selecting those elements that had a direct bearing on his work and disregarding whatever did not suit his purpose'. He notes that Joyce's

method of composition was accretive. He constantly added to *Finnegans Wake*, but the additions rarely involved new ideas. Rather, they were meant to enrich the texture of the book by providing new points of view, or commenting on the text, or even contradicting it to bring out its meaning. Such, for the most part, is the way the relativity theory found its way into *Finnegans Wake*: Joyce was not concerned with the development and meaning of the theory itself but rather with incorporating into his work those elements that he found useful because they reinforced his own ideas and themes.²⁴

Indeed, we can think of Leopold Bloom's meandering thoughts in terms of the scientism of the period, but I would argue that we can also see *Finnegans Wake* as an exemplar of Joyce's scientistic imagination.

Duszenko shows that, through frequent allusions to Einstein himself ('On the hike from Elmstree to Stene', or 'Eyeinstye', for instance) and through conflations of special and temporal references (e.g., bringing the four-dimensional space-time of Einstein's cosmos together in the Four Old Men, 'facing one way to another way and this way on that way, from severalled their fourdimmansions' (*FW* 36.26–7)), Joyce brought relativity into his text to emphasise themes already emerging in the novel, the unity of opposites, the joining of space and time. But Duszenko similarly helps uncover the broad references to the new science of quantum physics that was coming into public view as Joyce was composing the *Wake*. He finds in Joyce's allusions to quantum physics a parallel to Joyce's own experiments with language: 'The writer's resolve to break up the smallest units of meaning and experiment with subsemantic particles strikingly paralleled the goals and methods of quantum physics. Both the writer and the scientists were attempting to penetrate what had hitherto been considered the smallest indivisible unit – semantically in language, and physically in matter.'²⁵

Though subatomic particles had been discovered as far back as Sir J.J. Thomson's proof of the existence of electrons in 1897, Joyce's interest in Rutherford's 1919 experiment – of artificially disintegrating and

transmuting an atom – and his fascination with ideas of flux in the subatomic world and in language drew him into the new world of quantum physics in the 1920s. As Duszenko argues, ‘Joyce’s world of subatomic particles in *Finnegans Wake* is characterized by the same unpredictability that physicists discovered inside the atom.’²⁶ Well, maybe not *the same*, but the comparison Joyce sustains in his text is provocative and productive in the *Wakean* cosmos. Duszenko does make a useful qualification, though: ‘The multiplicity of parallels between the two [the *Wake* and quantum physics] does not mean that Joyce’s intention was to recreate in his book the subatomic realm and its laws. Rather, it suggests his willingness to incorporate some elements of new physics into his work to reflect the convergence of his world view and the new scientific theories about the world.’²⁷

Duszenko’s is an important qualification. As M. Landon put it earlier about efforts to read the *Wake* as a relativistic text: ‘The comparison of two such widely dissimilar universes of discourse may appear to force or falsely assume metaphoric and analogic relationships and hence has implicit danger. The *Wake* is not physical macroreality. Its essence is of the mind.’²⁸ Moreover, the scientific allusions of the *Wake* are richly multiple, leading different readers to focus on different sciences. Duszenko and others have emphasised the Einsteinian relativistic issues at stake in Professor Jones’ lecture in the *Wake*, and the Mookse and Gripes and the Ondt and Gracehoper tales, as Joyce’s response to Wyndham Lewis’ attack on him in *Time and Western Man* as a ‘time school’ author. Space and time are ultimately shown to resolve into unity.²⁹ But Bowers, quite plausibly, reads Professor Jones’ lecturing Shem on space and time not only as a parody of Lewis’ lecturing Joyce on the subject, but also as a Darwinian moment: ‘Since Professor Jones takes all temporal philosophies to task, Darwinism, with its deep commitment to the principle of variation over time, becomes a prime target.’³⁰ Duszenko’s highlighting of accretion as the compositional principle of the *Wake* certainly describes the novel’s layering of sciences on each other.

While some readers of Joyce call for historical precision about the chronology, sources and extent of Joyce’s knowledge of various sciences, others have side-stepped those issues entirely and invoked sciences that post-date Joyce’s life to interpret his œuvre. One example is the recent application of non-linear dynamics also known as ‘chaos theory’ to Joyce’s work. Rejecting historicist strictures forbidding anachronism, Rice argues that, ‘if the rehistoricization of the literary work ultimately affects the present reading of that work, the historicization of the present reader, positioning this reader within the cultural field of the work, will likewise

open new possibilities for reading in a “different world”.³¹ Rice and Peter Francis Mackey have applied chaos theory to Joyce’s work, seeing it as providing insight into the emergent order within dynamic systems in *Ulysses*. As Mackey summarises the province of chaos theory,

complex systems, such as the weather or an insect population, can change wildly because of small changes, or perturbations, within the system. We can never know the source of the change in advance, though, so it seems to occur randomly. A trivial change, meanwhile, can attain such potency only because close interrelationships within the complex system allow changes to magnify their influence. Complex systems, further, do not spin into disorder. Beneath their seeming randomness, an underlying order emerges.³²

Mackey reads Bloom’s life as a complex system. Emphasising that chaos theory provides an alternative to post-modernist preoccupation with closed language systems – an alternative that understands the ordering of the world both through language and through a reality that exists outside of language, Mackey argues: ‘Bloom ... possesses a discernible identity that evolves within limited parameters. Meanwhile, he lives within a contingent world where relationships affect him dramatically and which he tries, as well, to alter ... He is immersed in language’s malleability, but we also see him move through an aboriginal world that exists separate from him.’³³

Finally, I would like to raise an under-explored aspect of the relationship of Joyce’s texts to science. Scientific knowledge is not simply produced by a string of laboratory experiments and corrections or refinements of the details of emerging scientific theories, autonomous from the world outside of the laboratory. The scientific intellect is also a scientific imagination susceptible to the influences of a broader culture. Indeed, literature has at times contributed to the construction and the representation of science in key ways, as, for example, Susan Merrill Squier has shown about its role in the developing science of reproductive technology. In the atomic age, literary metaphor and modes of thinking have seemed particularly powerful. As one founding figure of quantum physics, Niels Bohr, said to another, Werner Heisenberg: ‘When it comes to atoms, language can be used only as in poetry. The poet, too, is not clearly so concerned with describing facts as with creating images.’³⁴

Of all of Joyce’s works *Finnegans Wake* has seemed to speak most to particle physicists. Famously, Murray Gell-Mann, who had begun exploring the *Wake* at age ten, found a name suited to his new trio of seemingly elementary and very strange particles among the rich ‘etym’s’ of the *Wake* in the line ‘*Three quarks for Muster Mark!*’ (*FW* 383.1). Joyce has continued to offer inspiration to nuclear physics in other ways as well. Phillip Herring

plumbed the depths of the *Wake* for a name for an experimental laser fusion reactor, 'solase' (*FW* 470.7), 'their solase in dorckaness'. Hassan emphasised in the early 1980s that both modern science and technology and *Finnegans Wake* were part of a 'trend toward dematerialization, the dispersal of languages, thus the (near) immanence of mind'.³⁵ Whether nuclear physicists would see their field this way is unclear – different disciplines have different dynamics and ways of talking about themselves. Surely, though, Joyce would have been pleased to see his work helping name the tools and concepts of the sciences to come after his death.

NOTES

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15. Alan David Perlis, 'The Newtonian Nightmare of *Ulysses*', in Benstock, ed., *The Seventh of Joyce*, p. 191.
16. M. Langdon, 'Some Reflections of Physics in *Finnegans Wake*', *JJQ* 17.4 (1980): 360.
17. Salvadori and Schwartzman, 'Musemathematics': 354.
18. Perlis, 'The Newtonian Nightmare of *Ulysses*', p. 196.
19. Friedman, 'Ulysses and Modern Science', p. 202.

20. Bruce Clarke, *Dora Marsden and Early Modernism: Gender, Individualism, Science* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), p. 220 n. 8.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 26–7.
22. See, for example, Simons, ‘The Physicist Leopold Bloom’: 275, or Salvadori and Schwartzman, ‘Musmathematics’: 354.
23. Burrell, ‘Chemistry and Physics in *Finnegans Wake*’: 194.
24. Andrzej Duszenko, ‘The Relativity Theory in *Finnegans Wake*’, *JJQ* 32.1 (1994): 62.
25. Andrzej Duszenko, ‘The Joyce of Science: Quantum Physics in *Finnegans Wake*’, *Irish University Review* 24:2 (1994): 274.
26. *Ibid.*: 279.
27. *Ibid.*: 282.
28. Landon, ‘Some Reflections’: 359.
29. Duszenko, ‘The Relativity Theory’: 69.
30. Paul Bowers, “‘Variability in Every Tongue’: Joyce and the Darwinian Narrative’, *JJQ* 36.4 (1999): 873.
31. Rice, *Joyce, Chaos, and Complexity*, p. 10.
32. Peter Francis Mackey, *Chaos Theory and James Joyce’s Everyman* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999), p. 1.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
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CHAPTER 31

Cinema

Maria DiBattista

James Joyce: a visionary wordsmith with weak eyes who discredited those arts that excited 'kinetic' emotions. This is a deliberately exaggerated, but not unfair, description of Joyce as a prime mover of literary modernism. So characterised, Joyce would seem little inclined to view cinema as a serious much less as a sister art from which literature might have something to learn. Yet the relations between Joyce and cinema, however irregular, were cordial and in one important instance contractual. In October of 1909, Joyce approached the four owners of two thriving cinema houses in Trieste with information to barter: the name of a city of 500,000 inhabitants that as yet had no movie theatre (*JJ* 300). The city, of course, was Dublin. The film exhibitors were intrigued and agreed to terms. Joyce left for Dublin on 18 October. By Monday 20 December 1909 the Volta, 45 Mary Street, was ready to project its first programme.

There was nothing avant-gardist about this enterprise. The films shown at the Volta reflected the state of popular film culture of the time: French films in the tradition of the Lumière Brothers *actualités* or 'actuality' films, like *La Pouponnière* showing daily life in a Paris nursery; one-reel travelogues (*A Tour through Italy*, *A Visit to Hamburg*) and documentary adventures like *Crocodile Hunting* that brought viewers within close, but safe distance of predatory exploit; educational and occupational films that demonstrated homely lessons (*How Soup Is Made*) or, more awe-inspiring, the alchemical wonders of industrial capitalism (*How Steel Is Made*). History, which in the tradition of academic painting was regarded as the most 'elevated' of cinematic subjects, was featured in longer films that specialised in the ordeals of legendary personages – *The Tragic Story of Beatrice Cenci*, *Francesca da Rimini* and *Nerone* – or in recreations of 'world-historical' spectacles such as *Quo Vadis, or the Way of the Cross* or *The Feast of St Bartholomew* (a feast that turns into a massacre).

The 'trick films' of early popular cinema, however, were the most imaginative in form as well as subject. Trick films were the mischievous

progeny of French filmmaker Georges Méliès, a former stage magician who had developed a repertoire of devices – stop action, time lapse and double exposure photography, dissolves, animation and hand-painted colour frames – to produce *magical* (not just special) effects. Trick films were marvellous, often hilarious exploitations of film's freedom to play with and even to abolish the laws of time and space. Material bodies suddenly lost their solidity in a newly realised world where space had no density and time no continuity; they could disintegrate and mutate into new forms, vanish and just as unaccountably reappear. Personality changes could be swiftly, if demonically, accomplished, as instanced in *Glass of Goat's Milk*, a salacious Ovidian farce about a diffident man who, after drinking some goat's milk with aphrodisiac properties, metamorphoses into a cavorting satyr who will butt anything in sight. The representational laws that govern the 'Circe' chapter of *Ulysses*, which the Linati scheme designates as *Visione animata fino allo scoppio* (Vision animated to bursting point), were partly legislated in these rambunctious trick films in which the meek and nondescript could suddenly metamorphose into uninhibited and charismatic agents of the Id. An equally sublime anarchism is featured in the shorts that featured the acrobatic clown, Cretinetti or Foolshead, a descendant of the wily scapegraces of *commedia dell'arte* whose physical wizardry and *trompe d'œil* stunts would be naturalised, although not deprived of their wonder, in the films of Buster Keaton.

The Volta venture, however, soon faltered, doomed, as Luke McKernan remarks, by 'the combination of ramshackle presentation, competition from other film ventures, a limited venue, and most particularly an almost total absence of American films'.¹ Within six months of its opening, the Volta was sold to an English company, leaving Joyce, who had returned to Trieste in early January, with little to show for his historic effort to bring the newest, seventh art to Dublin.

These facts are not in dispute, but their significance is. For the English novelist B. S. Johnson, this venture, despite its commercial failure, was of inestimable artistic consequence:

Joyce saw very early on that film must usurp some of the prerogatives which until then had belonged almost exclusively to the novelist. Film could tell a story more directly, in less time and with more concrete detail than a novel; certain aspects of character could be more easily delineated and kept constantly before the audience (for example, physical characteristics like a limp, a scar, particular ugliness or beauty); no novelist's description of a battle squadron at sea in a gale could really hope to compete with that in a well-shot film; and why should anyone who simply wanted to be told a story spend all his spare time for a week or weeks reading a book

when he could experience the same thing in a version in some ways superior at his local cinema in only one evening?²

'Joyce saw' – with these two simple words Johnson, with astounding confidence, disposes of the complex question of Joyce's artistic response to cinema. We are beginning to recover a more complete record of what Joyce actually did see, although some of these early films are known to us only by the verbal accounts of them in Biograph bulletins.³ But even if we were able to track down to the last reel every film that Joyce 'saw', we would still be left with the interpretative question of how and to what extent what he saw affected his own literary methods. How one begins to answer the question depends on how one understands Joyce's modernism. The first critics and reviewers who discerned affinities between Joyce's experimental writing and the way cinema represented reality used the term cinematographic to isolate what was strikingly new, but also irritating, even disconcerting in Joyce's style. In an otherwise admiring review of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, H. G. Wells, whose own works, especially *The Time Machine*, imaginatively forecast new technological and sensory regimes of sight and bodily movement, complained of the showy traces of early cinema in Joyce's compositional and typographical design:

One conversation in this book is a superb success, the one in which Mr. Dedalus carves the Christmas turkey; I write with all due deliberation that Sterne himself could not have done it better; but most of the talk flickers blindingly with these dashes, one has the same wincing feeling of being flicked at that one used to have in the early cinema shows. I think Mr. Joyce has failed to discredit the inverted comma. (CH 1 87)

In recalling the flickering images that often made early cinema seem a controlled delirium, Wells reminds us of the possible unpleasantness of being flicked *at*. The 'flicker effect' could agitate as well as mesmerise the eye, as attested by an anonymous reviewer who also complained that Joyce's style 'is in the new fashionable kinematographic vein, very jerky and elliptical' (CH 1 94).

Such remarks are symptomatic, but ultimately unhelpful, even misleading. Wells may have been right in claiming that Joyce did not succeed in fully discrediting the inverted comma, but his remarks on the flicker effect of Joyce's prose – like the anonymous reviewer's objection to Joyce's disjunctive 'kinematographic' narratives – are too vague, not to mention peevish, to establish any but the most casual resemblance between Joyce's stylistic innovations and the new visual language quickly being codified in these early years of cinema. A judge called upon to give a legal opinion of

Ulysses, a work in which Joyce arguably mined the 'cinematographic' vein as deeply as anyone has, was more precise in suggesting a *conspicuous* likeness between Joyce's representational methods and the syntax of cinema. In his landmark decision of 6 December 1933 determining that *Ulysses* could not be deemed obscene, the Honorable John M. Woolsey proved himself one of the shrewdest as well as most sympathetic readers of *Ulysses* in calling attention to the way Joyce's apparently abstruse and allegedly obscene epic could be read in the light of certain cinematic ideas:

Joyce has attempted – it seems to me, with astonishing success – to show how the *screen of consciousness* with its ever-shifting kaleidoscopic impressions carries, as it were on a plastic palimpsest, not only what is in the focus of each man's observation of the actual things about him, but also in a penumbral zone residua of past impressions, some recent and some drawn up by association from the domain of the subconscious. He shows how each of these impressions affects the life and behavior of the character which he is describing.

What he seeks to get is not unlike the result of a double or, if that is possible, a multiple exposure on a cinema film which would give a clear foreground with a background visible but somewhat blurred and out of focus in varying degrees [*italics mine*].⁴

Not only did Woolsey's opinion legally establish *Ulysses*' indisputable literary, hence non-pornographic character, it did so in a way that made the novel seem less esoteric than it actually was by comparing its depiction of an ordinary June day in Dublin to a visuality – kaleidoscopic, palimpsestic, pictographic – that cinema had naturalised for the general culture. In a particularly canny substitution, Woolsey speaks of a 'screen' where we might expect 'stream' of consciousness, thus associating Joyce's otherwise obscure even dubious artistic practices with a feature of modern life that normally excited pleasant rather than alarming thoughts. In comparing consciousness to a plastic palimpsest, Woolsey in fact suggests that the mind itself is proto-cinematic, a suggestion he elaborates in claiming that *Ulysses*, as a representation of the complex interplay of present and past images playing on and across the screen of consciousness, is 'not unlike' those double or multiple exposures that endow the fleeting filmic image with the layered density and depth of space.

Still, distortions in focus, like the blurred background Woolsey refers to, are visually irksome and can be especially bothersome, even unsettling, to those who require clear and unified views of reality. The 'cinematographic' vein many early critics associated with Joyce's elliptical representations, that is with his brash modernism, thus provoked strong, frequently harsh ideological responses. The most rabid objections came from the social realists of the newly established Soviet regime, who denounced the sociological 'optics' of *Ulysses*

for its reactionary and decadent formalism. In a virulent attack delivered at the 1934 Writers' Congress, Party spokesman Karl Radek condemned *Ulysses* as 'a heap of dung, teeming with worms and photographed by a motion picture camera through a microscope'. 'Joyce', he warned, 'stands on the other side of the barricades ... I wish to say to Soviet and foreign writers: "Our road lies not through Joyce but along the highway of Socialist Realism."' ⁵ Sergei Eisenstein, the pioneering Russian filmmaker who had read, annotated, taught and written a screen treatment for *Ulysses*, took up and defended a position on the other side of the barricades, extolling *Ulysses* as 'the most heroic attempt ... in literature' to reconstruct 'the reflection and refraction of reality in the consciousness and feelings of man'. He located the originality of Joyce's work in a

dual-level method of writing: unfolding the display of events simultaneously with the particular manner in which these events pass through the consciousness and feelings, the associations and emotions of one of his chief characters. Here literature, as nowhere else, achieves an almost physiological palpability. To the whole arsenal of literary methods of influence has been added a compositional structure that I would call 'ultra-lyrical'. For while the lyric, equally with the imagery, reconstructs the most intimate passage of the inner logic of feeling, Joyce patterns it on the physiological organization of the emotions, as well as on the embryology of the formation of thought. ⁶

The ultra-lyrical – with this term Eisenstein not only identifies a new compositional structure, but locates a new artistic domain within the innermost reaches of consciousness. Every vestige of human subjectivity, from the inner logic of feeling, the motor-neural organisation of emotion to the gestation of the most complex idea or most fugitive thought originates there, not as abstract processes but as specific and embodied mental acts. To enter and properly explore this domain required, however, as Eisenstein realised, 'the entire dissolution of the foundation of literary diction, the entire decomposition of the literary method itself'. ⁷

Eisenstein's own constructive genius invented the dynamics of montage – discontinuous editing and startling juxtapositions of conflicting cinematic images that ultimately combine in new visual and ideological 'ideograms' – to replace what could not or should not be repaired in those dissolving foundations. An emerging American avant-garde, energised by somewhat different though often sympathetic ideological persuasions, was also exhilarated by the spectacle of Joyce's demolition work, which paralleled their own efforts to lay the groundwork for a revolutionary poetic cinema. This, at least, is how the artist and critic Parker Tyler presents the historical relation between the appearance of *Ulysses* and the advent of avant-garde cinema:

It seems to me historically most apt that the avant-garde, as a conscious film movement, was born at exactly the time that Joyce was finishing *Ulysses* ... Both Joyce and the avant-gardistes ... set out to show that art could feed at the very sources of the poetic imagination without using conventional narratives or respecting the naturalistic mode of the novel.⁸

Tyler echoes Johnson's historical verdict that the advent of film had driven the novel underground, where it was restored and revitalised by its contact with the chthonian sources of the Poetry, the seedbed, as it was were, of the ultra-lyrical. For Parker, Joyce's demiurgic labours in *Ulysses* 'saved' the novel from and for itself. 'It would be more accurate to say of this work, 'he determines, 'rather than that it announced the novel's death, that it revealed its resurrection.'⁹ The cinematic avant-garde took heart from his example. 'If the history of the Underground Film in all its styles and phases has one essential message', Tyler concludes, 'it is that the film medium to achieve its destiny, must not only be pure, free of all commercial taints, it must also have scope of vision and an implacable aesthetic character.'¹⁰

One way that film arguably attempted to achieve its destiny was by adapting Joyce's work, a possibility that interested Joyce himself. He met with Eisenstein to discuss, among other things, the possibility of filming *Ulysses* and, urged on by his son Giorgio, read and commented upon a treatment proposed by the objectivist poet Louis Zukovsky and S. J. Reisman, going so far as to suggest that Bloom be played by George Arliss and that John Ford direct. He personally worked with Stuart Gilbert in drafting a scenario of the Anna Livia episode of *Finnegans Wake* and, in 1932, he was even negotiating with Warner Brothers for the rights to *Ulysses*, but this project, like the others, never materialised.

Oddly, *Finnegans Wake*, the least 'filmable' of his works, was the first to reach the screen. *Passages from Finnegans Wake* (1965–7), a live-action feature a decade in the making, was the work of the avant-garde animator Mary Bute, who specialised in 'visual music' and so-called 'Seeing Sound' films. A less experimental director, Joseph Strick, directed a contemporary version of *Ulysses* (1967) that predictably satisfied neither literary nor cinematic purists. However, some critics, like Margot Norris, appreciated Strick's ideological 'updating' that focused on Bloom as a Jew rather than Stephen as rebel against English and Catholic Rule. Strick went on to film *A Portrait* (1977) now mostly remembered for John Gielgud's histrionic delivery of the Hell sermon. John Huston's last film, 'The Dead', was more faithful but less imaginative than his adaptation of *The Maltese Falcon*, although it has its defenders, among them Luke Gibbons, who praises the film's 'epiphonic' ingenuity in giving voice – literally – to Joyce's multivocal narrative syntax.¹¹

Most of these works are more filmisations than films, a distinction worth making if only to remind us how difficult it is to determine, much less establish a concrete relation between Joyce's verbal and cinema's visual art. It is a difficulty surmounted by a distinguished line of academic critics exploring the expressive means that Joyce adapted from the language of cinema. Keith Williams, reflecting and consolidating in a single sentence the pioneering readings of Patricia Hutchins, Austin Briggs, Terence Brown, William Costanzo, Alan Speigel, Ruth Perlmutter and Keith Cohen, inventories the 'embryonic techniques' that must have appealed to a writer of Joyce's intensely 'polyvisual' imagination: 'Such proto-technologies range from the shadowgraph effects of his juvenile sketches, "Silhouettes" (written between 1893), to the Magic Lantern-like apparitions referred to in "Grace", and Bloom's voyeuristic relishing of Gertie's display in "Nausicaa", through recollections of Mutoscope peepshows.'¹² Carla Marengo Vaglio, who has documented with admirable thoroughness how *Ulysses* was 'rooted in the critical situation of the visual arts at the turn of the twentieth century', observes Bloom's single reference to 'mutoscope pictures in Capel Street: for men only. Peeping Tom' (*U* 13.794–5) summons 'a host of late Victorian inventions – zoopraxisscopes, phenakistiscopes, stereoscopes bioscopes, magic lantern slides, mutoscopes – along with the appropriate techniques: flip-book mechanisms of individual photographic impressions mounted on rotary wheels for the mutoscope; slipping slides painted or photographed, hand-tinted or retouched, with superimposed images and dissolving views for the magic lantern'.¹³ These devices, which possessed the charm of toys and appealed to the voyeur and the poet as well as the child in us, beguiled the eye and prepared it for the full-screen visual splendours of cinema.

Still, it is by no means easy to determine at what point allusions to the new technologies of vision, technologies that enlarged the scope and altered the way the eye could see, inspired or influenced the way Joyce himself envisioned his art. His notebooks and worksheets record a technical fascination with cinematic devices, especially techniques of cinematic fakery, that find their literary counterparts in the lingering close-ups of the Nausicaa chapter, the debauched visual wizardry of 'Circe' or the 'narrative nuclei that are presented as scripts' and scatter red throughout *Finnegans Wake*.¹⁴ *Finnegans Wake* also contains a much cited line that seems to declare a fundamental kinship between literary and cinematic processes: 'And roll away the reel world, the reel world, the reel world' (*FW* 64.25). The pun on reel world, as many critics have noted, simultaneously alludes to the operations of the film projector and the primary, unconscious processes of

the *Wake's* dream work, thus revealing their structural affinity. This recognition takes the form of an exuberant *triple* pun on reel that appears to mimic the serialised mechanism – and flicker effect – of early film projection. Still, why 'roll away' and not the more idiomatic roll on, as in the Frank Harris' 'To the Film Industry in Crisis', whose exhortatory concluding lines – 'Roll on, reels of celluloid, as the great earth rolls on!' – echo Joyce's pun? Is this prepositional oddity a Freudian slip by which a dead or drunken dreamer reveals his hidden wish to banish the reel/real world from his sight?

One reason it is so hard to gauge Joyce's artistic investment in cinema is that he left no 'text' on cinema that formulated the syllogisms of its art with the same thomistic rigour – or vocabulary – that informed Stephen Dedalus' modernist aesthetic. There are scattered comments in his early notebooks that deny the aesthetic character (and potential) of photography and cinema precisely because they represent mechanical arts of reproduction. In the Trieste Notebook, Joyce dogmatically separates the 'esthetic' image from 'Pornographic and cinematographic images' that in his view 'act like those stimuli which produce a reflex action of the nerves through channels which are independent of aesthetic perception' (WD 96). The *Paris Notebook* records a more formidable roadblock obstructing the road to cinematic Joyce:

Question: Can a photograph be a work of art?

Answer: A photograph is a disposition of sensible matter and may be so disposed for an aesthetic end but it is not a human disposition of sensible matter. Therefore it is not a work of art.¹⁵

Yet such was Joyce's genius that he found a way to override his objection to the camera's non-human disposition of sensible matter and to admit the proto-cinematic into his own literary art. A case in point is the advertisement Bloom remembers proposing to Wisdom Hely: 'a transparent show cart with two smart girls sitting inside writing letters, copybooks, envelopes, blottingpaper. I bet that would have caught on. Smart girls writing something catch the eye at once. Everyone dying to know what she's writing. Get twenty of them round you if you stare at nothing' (U8.131–5). Voyeurism, as Bloom well knows, is not always a solitary pleasure, but can take sociable forms. Cinema, indeed, is a great reminder of the contagion of spectacles. Bloom understands, too, that it is easy enough to catch the eye by putting fashionably smart girls on display, but to arrest it you must indicate what the eye *misses*, what it cannot see, the nothing that is not there and the nothing that is. This point is wittily made in another clever ad that Bloom, the phenomenologist as adman, had proposed to Wisdom Hely. It plays off

the material differences between text and film: 'Or the inkbottle I suggested with a false stain of black celluloid' (*U* 8.131–45). Bloom, well acquainted with mutoscopes and comparable proto-cinematic devices, appreciates how celluloid, which enchants us with its dazzling simulacra of life, may be the consummate realisation of the art of *trompe l'œil*.

Bloom returns to his 'ideated and rejected' fantasy ad in 'Ithaca', in his attempt 'to induce Stephen to deduce that originality, though producing its own reward, does not invariably conduce to success'. Stephen glumly responds by imagining a different scene of writing, one that recalls the origin of cinema in popular dramatic traditions of melodrama and pantomime:

Solitary hotel in mountain pass. Autumn. Twilight. Fire lit. In dark corner young man seated. Young woman enters. Restless. Solitary. She sits. She goes to window. She stands. She sits. Twilight. She thinks. On solitary hotel paper she writes. She thinks. She writes. She sighs. Wheels and hoofs. She hurries out. He comes from his dark corner. He seizes solitary paper. He holds it towards fire. Twilight. He reads. Solitary. (*U* 17.612–17)

Bloom is the fantasist who seeks out Spectacle, Stephen the artist bound by the metaphysical (and cinematic) principle he proclaimed in 'Nestor' – 'It must be movement then' (*U* 2.67). He unreels a scene that is all 'local colour' (the literary equivalent of cinematic *mise-en-scène*) and expressive movement. Bloom, the phenomenologist/voyeur, and Stephen, the aspiring epic dramatist, have produced scenarios that conduce to the origin of cinema in spectacle and movement, the twin pillars on which the cinema of attractions was built.

What is lacking in both of these scenarios and, indeed, in this mating of spectacle and movement whose most favoured child is cinema, is the possibility or feeling for epiphany. Epiphany, defined as 'a sudden spiritual manifestation, whether in the vulgarity of speech or of gesture or in a memorable phase of the mind itself' is the condition to which Joyce's art aspires. Joycean epiphany is as dynamic as cinema, entailing as it does both movement – the gropings of a spiritual eye – and spectacle – that 'which seeks to adjust its vision to an exact focus' (*SH* 213). Cinema invites the eye to look, scan, race and reel to a tempo it alone dictates; it excels in the art of fakery and traffics in spectral and disincarnate semblances, not in the radiant body of reality. These intuitions are latent in Joyce's youthful experiments in Epiphany, which explore the relation between the visual and vatic inclinations of his own imagination as a tension between sight and vision. Epiphany 23 seems especially concerned with that relation:

There is no dancing. Go down before the people young boy, and dance for them ... He runs out darkly clad, lithe and serious to dance before the multitude. There is

no music for him. He begins to dance far below in the amphitheater with a slow and supple movement of the limbs, passing from movement to movement, in all the grace of youth and distance, until he seems to be a whirling body, a spider wheeling amid space, a star.¹⁶

Transfiguration, not spectacle, is the motive of this dance. This 'epiphany' in which the dancer cannot be told apart from the dance (whirling body, wheeling spider, dancing star) gives birth to a clamorous prophetic desire: 'I desire to shout to him words of praise, to shout arrogantly over the heads of the multitude "See! See!"'. The ecstatic 'See! See!' comprises both a sibylline cry and a spiritual greeting; it is the cry of one who at once beholds and hails the reality hidden beneath or beyond the visible appearance of things. Bloom resorts to a less prophetic word whenever he is excited by the (female) object of his fascinated gaze: 'Watch! Watch!' (*U* 5.130). The difference between these two verbal and ocular imperatives is the difference between the watcher/voyeur Bloom and seer/visionary Joyce. To understand and explore this difference was the burden of Joyce's art.

Perhaps I spoke prematurely earlier when asserting that Joyce left us no 'text' on cinema. He arguably did so in his lecture on William Blake, in which he commemorated Blake as a visionary in whom the pathological, theosophical and artistic elements of his personality united in conducting him to 'the threshold of the infinite':

To him, all space larger than a red globule of human blood was visionary, created by the hammer of Los, while in the space smaller than a globule of blood we approach eternity, of which our vegetable world is but a shadow. Not *with* the eye, then, but *beyond* the eye, the soul and the supreme love must look, because the eye, which was born in the night while the soul was sleeping in rays of light, will also die in the night. (*OPCW* 222)

That the eye might die in darkness: nothing equals the terror and the scandal (for cinema) of that possibility, that prognosis. It is not, of course, bodily vision but spiritual perception that may die in the dark cavernous spaces where we sit enrapt by phantoms of light. Joyce, one of the sighted elect, believed that the artist's mission was not to stimulate or preserve sight, but to achieve and proclaim vision. Whether cinema, which enfolds us in a darkness riddled with rays of light, can induce us to look not only *with*, but *beyond* the eye, is the challenge posed by Joyce's epiphanic modernism.

NOTES

1. Luke McKernan, 'James Joyce and the Volta Cinematograph', *Film and Film Culture* 3 (2004): 8.
2. B. S. Johnson, Introduction to 'Aren't You Rather Young to be Writing Your Memoirs?', 1973, *Review of Contemporary Fiction* 19 (1991): 64.
3. Luke McKernan has assembled the complete Volta Filmography (7–15). The British Film Institute maintains a database of the films known to be shown as part of its James Joyce Cinema Research Project. <http://ftvdb.bfi.org.uk/>.
4. The opinion is reproduced in *Ulysses* (New York: Random House, 1934), p. xiv.
5. Emily Tall, 'Eisenstein on Joyce: Sergei Eisenstein's Lecture on James Joyce at the State Institute of Cinematography, November 1, 1934', *JJQ* 24.2 (1987): 24–34.
6. Sergei Eisenstein, *Film Form* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977), p. 185.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Parker Tyler, *Underground Film: A Critical History* (New York: Grove Press, 1969), p. 239.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 236.
11. Luke Gibbons, "The Cracked Looking Glass" of Cinema: James Joyce, John Huston, and the Memory of "The Dead", *Yale Journal of Criticism* 15.1 (2002): 146.
12. Keith Williams, 'Joyce and Early Cinema', *James Joyce Broadsheet* 58 (2000): 1.
13. Carla Marengo Vaglio, 'Cinematic Joyce: Mediterranean Joyce', in Sebastian Knowles, Geert Lernout and John McCourt, eds., *Joyce in Trieste* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007), p. 223.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 227.
15. *CW* 146.
16. James Joyce, *Poems and Shorter Writings*, ed. Richard Ellmann, A. Walton Litz and John Whittier-Ferguson (London: Faber & Faber, 1991), p. 183.

CHAPTER 32

Sex

Christine Froula

[I]f I put down a bucket into my own soul's well, sexual department, I draw up Griffith's and Ibsen's and Skeffington's and Bernard Vaughan's and St. Aloysius' and Shelley's and Renan's water along with my own. And I am going to do that in my novel (inter alia) and plank the bucket down before the shades and substances above mentioned to see how they like it: ... I am nauseated by their lying drivel about pure men and pure women and spiritual love and love for ever: blatant lying in the face of the truth.

Letter to Stanislaus Joyce, 13 November 1906

'Are we in a brothel here, or a theater?' shouted a spectator during act two of Gerhart Hauptmann's *Before Sunrise* at its 1889 Berlin premiere.¹ Twelve years later that cry still reverberated in Ireland as Joyce, aged nineteen, undertook to translate *Before Sunrise* for the Irish Literary Theatre.² Founded in 1899 by Yeats, Lady Gregory and Edward Martyn, the ILT's mission was to promote 'Irish feeling, genius and modes of thought' by producing new plays in 'that freedom to experiment which is not found in theatre of England, and without which no movement in art or literature can succeed'.³ Although English censorship law did not apply in Ireland, the ILT's free experiments inspired homegrown outrage from its first production, *The Countess Cathleen*. Just before it folded, it foreclosed Joyce's hope to contribute to its fostering of a modern cosmopolitan Irish sensibility and produced two Irish Revival plays instead.

Joyce quickly made loss his gain. Quite free himself of what he diagnosed as Yeats's 'treacherous instinct of adaptability', he sat down to condemn the ILT's 'surrender to the trolls' and cede it to 'the rabblement of the most belated race in Europe' (*OPCW* 51–2). At a 'time of crisis', his manifesto 'The Day of the Rabblement' declared, no one can be an artist who gives way to 'mean influences', whose soul 'yields up all its hate to a caress'; to court the 'multitude' is to risk its contagious 'fetichism and deliberate self-deception'. In Hauptmann Ibsen had a worthy successor; a

'third minister' to Ireland's belated race and 'the future of art' awaited his hour (*OPCW* 50–2).

Joyce precipitated his hour by submitting 'The Day of the Rabblement' to his university's new literary magazine, *St Stephen's*, which balked at its reference to d'Annunzio's hot new novel, *Il fuoco* (1900). Inspired by d'Annunzio's liaison with Eleanora Duse, *Il fuoco* had made the Vatican Index and was enjoying a sensational reception in Europe. For Joyce's purposes, what more vivid illustration of mind-forged manacles encumbering Ireland's struggle toward freedom? The revolution would not be dramatised, nor would its trumpets blast from *St Stephen's*. Instead Joyce and Francis Skeffington, whose essay advocating women's right to earn university degrees was also rejected, published their essays privately and presented copies to Dublin's literary lights. However small and sceptical his audience, Joyce parlayed these instances of repressive Anglo-Irish and Irish Catholic sensibility into a public drama starring himself: the embattled modern artist, aspiring prophet of a new nation, without honour in his own obstinately provincial land. If he had failed to bring an emerging Ireland into dialogue with European avant-garde drama on the contentious national stage, he had tested the waters, drawn the battle lines around representations of sex, allied himself with Ibsen, Hauptmann and d'Annunzio against de facto sexual censorship, fired an audible shot across the bow of Ireland's double subjection to Rome and its own romantic mythology, and performed his dedication to an art 'making no compromise with the public taste' – the motto of the *Little Review*, where readers would encounter *Ulysses*'s episodes until New York censors sniffed vice and shut it down.

The middle-class Dublin audience the ILT sought to draw might have wondered why anyone should expect them to watch Hauptmann's drunken, incestuous father, fornicating masters and servants, post-coital adulterers and suicidal daughter at their national theatre. Such figures, served up with lewd jokes and nudity, might be laughed at in the music hall but were taboo on the serious stage. The Irish had long been cast as a barbarian race by their Anglo-Saxon conquerors; was not the Celtic Revival a more telling rebuke to that calumny than Irish versions of European naturalism? Yet for Joyce the Irish theatre's mission was to stage 'life – real life' for free, truth-loving spectators. Modern drama must be 'at war with convention', with the 'cant and ... falsehoods to which we have lent our support'; it must challenge its audience to 'criticise in the manner of free people' ('Drama and Life' (1900), *OPCW* 28, 25). Sexual repression enforced Irish oppression through secrecy, silence and paralysis; naturalist drama brought signifying symptoms into public view to expose power's hidden

workings. The sex taboo in public discourse, the self-deceptive 'fetichism' of Irish purity (Griffith *inter alia*), must be smashed to forge the new conscience or knowing-together of a free people. To this end Joyce honed a modern 'vivisection' art that would less defy than abolish the category of the obscene by sweeping what had been condemned as dirt not under the rug but into 'the light of day' (*SH* 186).

From Joyce's earliest formation as an artist, in short, the sexual was political: a prime index of Ireland's enslavement to three masters – the Roman Catholic Church, the imperial British state, and the Shan Van Vogt aka the old sow that eats her farrow – and a key feature of his emancipatory modernity. To the framing of sex as shame, filth, disease, prurient voyeurism, the dirty jokes of 'inconsequent' Buck Mulligan, Joyce opposed an aesthetic ideology of truth and freedom, fully expecting to be misunderstood: 'What I write with the most lugubrious intentions would probably be prosecuted in England as pornographical' (*JJ* 264). Upheld by denial, disavowal, anxiety, shame and the hypocrisy of power, Irish sex taboos played into the hands of colonial oppression, against which Joyce deployed the analytic 'lancet' of his art – in fiction if not on the Irish stage (*U* 1.152). Thus in 'A Painful Case' Mr Duffy's translation of Hauptmann's *Michael Kramer* lies unacted on his desk as in his life, its stage directions 'in purple ink' calling mournful attention to its inert and solitary *mise-en-page* (*D* 108). In *Portrait* 'rainladen trees' recall to Stephen the 'girls and women' of Hauptmann's plays; and a xenophobic 'rabblement' echoes in his mind, almost as if Stephen's Dublin *has* produced *Before Sunrise*: '– A libel on Ireland! – Made in Germany! – Blasphemy! – We never sold our faith! – No Irish woman ever did it! – We want no amateur atheists! – We want no budding buddhists!' (*P* 190, 246).⁴ Rather than emulate an avant-garde play, Joyce portrays Stephen's dialectical self-fashioning through this fictional scandal over a modern 'German' drama – an Irish culture war in which his European-influenced yet immutably Irish artist-hero takes up arms against provincial repression.

Making representations of sex the edge of the wedge, Joyce launched his war for modern Ireland's soul from the lofty crag of what Richard Brown calls his 'jesuitical modernity'.⁵ As he laboured to forge a new conscience for an imaginary Irish audience he could not conjure in the flesh, Joyce fought fire with fire, raiding enemy treasurestores for ammunition. Thus the ur-Stephen is a winged Gabriel, bearer of a revolutionary Word to redeem Ireland's future race from a corrupt colonial 'syphilisation' (*U* 12.1197): 'To those multitudes, not as yet in the wombs of humanity but surely engenderable there, he would give the word: Man and woman, out of you comes

the nation ... and amid the general paralysis of an insane society, the confederate will issues in action' (*WD* 68). Yoking the Incarnation, Francis Galton's new 'science' of eugenics, the age-old pox (then still without test or cure) and Whitman's 'Song of Myself' violently together, Joyce envisioned an oracular 'word' to free Ireland from the sex taboos that enforced its material and spiritual impoverishment.

As Joyce framed Stephen Dedalus' sexual life within Ireland's struggle for freedom amid contending dreams of its future, so his own sexual affairs suggest a series of embodied speech acts, a live critique of the socio-economic sex/gender system in that 'time of crisis'. Watching his brother act 'the role of dissipated genius' about Dublin – 'running after every chit with a petticoat' – Stanislaus Joyce detected a will less to get inside the petticoat than to get 'outside the utmost rim of Catholicism' by committing 'the sin against the Holy Ghost' (*DD* 76). So too Joyce's intimate 1909 letters to his 'darling little convent girl' Nora infuse religious exorcism into erotic passion and play (*SL* 181). As for sex, money and marriage law, Joyce was something of a Jane Austen of his day, a radical, often comedic analyst of the bourgeois merchandising of female bodies. Stephen Daedalus propositions Emma Clery – 'one night, Emma, alone together and in the morning we will say goodbye' – and, rebuffed, derides her for submitting her sexuality to the 'presumptive' authority of Church and State through the socio-economic marriage system, read as church – and state – mandated prostitution (Shelley *inter alia*). 'Surely what they call the temple of the Holy Ghost should not be bargained for!' he mocks, and (anticipating his defence of the prostitute in the black straw hat in 'Eumaeus') 'Emma will sell herself to the state but give nothing' (*SH* 198, 202–3; Skeffington *inter alia*). Lynch counsels sagely, 'You know even if you had proposed to buy her decently – for State purposes ... she would not have sold at the price' (*SH* 203). When Joyce wrote this scene he and Nora Barnacle had established their shared life abroad – soulmates for all their differences of class and education, not least because Nora had the courage to live her sexuality outside church and state law.

The political liability of Irish prudery must have branded itself on Joyce's sensibility by 1891 when he wrote his first poem, 'Et tu, Healy', a florid Miltonic elegy for Parnell (*JJ* 33). Perhaps, like the narrator of 'The Sisters', nine-year-old Joyce did not fully grasp the events that led from the public's belated discovery of Parnell's longstanding, only technically adulterous, liaison with Katherine O'Shea to his betrayal by the Irish clergy, whose opprobrium got him removed from Irish party leadership as Home Rule seemed on the brink of success. But that fatal crossing of sex and politics

vibrates like a depth charge beneath 'Ivy Day in the Committee Room' and *Portrait's* Christmas dinner scene, where the terrified Stephen watches his father sob over his 'dead king', to surface in the dim light of the cabman's shelter, where Bloom ponders that 'historic story', 'the staggering blow ... a welcome intelligence to not a few evildisposed ... who were resolved upon [encouraging] his downfall though the thing was public property all along though not to anything like the sensational extent that it subsequently blossomed into' (*P* 39; *U* 16.1366–70). One of many fractal reflections of *Ulysses's* radical modern adultery plot, Parnell's downfall resonates in the ways Joyce shapes and invests with value his characters' physical and metaphysical sexual adventures on 16 June 1904.

Parnell's ghost also haunts Stephen's *A Pisgah Site of Palestine or the Parable of the Plums* in 'Aeolus'. A 'vision' cobbled from his morning's observations on to a scaffold borrowed from Dickens, it stars the two elderly midwives of 'Proteus' – 'two Dublin vestals' (*U* 7.923) or goddesses of hearth and household, 'two old trickies' (*U* 7.1009) skilled in crafty, clever dodges – who on a lark pay threepence each to labour up the steps of Nelson's Pillar at the 'HEART OF THE HIBERNIAN METROPOLIS' (*U* 7.1–2).⁶ First giddy from trying to name the churches below, then plagued by a 'crick in their necks' (*U* 7.1023) from peering up at the statue of the 'onehanded adulterer', they sit on their petticoats eating plums and spitting pips down between the railings. The professor – deplorably enslaved to 'the blatant Latin language', instrument of '[m]aterial domination' when he would rather be teaching Greek, 'the language of the mind' – relishes the midwives' quaint locution as the parable's key: 'Onehanded adulterer! ... I like that. I see the idea ... I see what you mean' (*U* 7.1019–20). Out of the mouths of plum-eating, seed-spitting vestal trickies in the sky: adultery, onehanded or two, is not a matter of moment when imperial power is at stake – oh wait, unless it is a case of Ireland's three masters (Roman churches, Nelson's statue, the 'TOO TITILLAT[ed]' off-duty Irish midwives) seizing on Parnell's hardly even scandalous sex life to ruin Ireland's hope of freedom. Parodies of the failed Irish artist who yields up hate to a caress, Stephen's midwives are also unconscious prophets whose words evoke a Promised Land of awakened conscience, to which Anne and Flo (at 'fifty and fiftythree') 'deliver' their people, barely glimpsing it themselves.

Dispersed within a narrative that brings folk wisdom and historical consciousness into the same room – a newsroom no less – Stephen's parable unveils colonial ironies of sex and power to hearers who 'see the idea' and excludes those who do not 'lest their sins be forgiven' (Mark 4:12). In this respect it recalls *Dubliners's* gnomic riddles, *gnomon* signifying among other

things a pillar whose shadow tracks the time of day. Like the parable, *Dubliners* has antecedents. The European-Irish career of the flamboyant George Moore – ‘lecturer on French letters to the youth of Ireland’ (U 9.1101–2) – was gaining momentum around the time Joyce was born. While living in Paris Moore published two poetry collections, *Flowers of Passion* (1878) and *Pagan Poems* (1881), then turned to French naturalism-inspired novels. *A Modern Lover* (1883) was banned in England, where Zola’s publisher would soon be prosecuted. *A Drama in Muslin* (1886) mocks (with lesbian overtones) the Anglo-Irish marriage market. *Esther Waters* (1894) depicts a housemaid seduced and abandoned by a footman while the homosexual John Norton in *Celibates* (1895) is modelled on Moore’s cousin Martyn. In 1900 Moore publicly left the Church; in 1901 he lauded Joyce’s ‘Day of the Rabblement’. Yeats excepted, ‘there was no one writing verse or fiction whom Joyce admired more’ (JJ 98). Small wonder the National Library *litterati* consider Moore ‘the man’ for Ireland’s unwritten ‘national epic’ (U 9.310, 309).

Yet if the glamorous but prolix Moore set the bar high for daring sexual subjects, Joyce – even young Joyce – was an incomparably more powerful writer. Wielding his analytic lancet with ‘scrupulous meanness’ (L II 134), he produced a gallery of Dubliners whose agonies scarcely ripple the surface of their speech: the boy knight of ‘Araby’ on a quest for a magic object to captivate Mangan’s sister; the sinister dead priest of ‘The Sisters’, whose mishap with the chalice does not seem to account for the unease of the boy left to puzzle in secret over his legacy; Eveline, an anti-Nora paralysed at the dock as her lover’s ship casts off; the shy, repressed Maria doomed to lonely supervision of the outcast women workers in the Dublin by Lamplight laundry; the ‘queer old josser’ of ‘An Encounter’ who furtively masturbates between incoherent quizzing of the truants about sweethearts, forbidden books and ‘chastising boys’; two ‘gallants’ transactions with a ‘slavey’ in the mutually debasing coin of sex and specie; Mrs Sinico’s desperate turn from Mr Duffy’s glacial heart; Gabriel Conroy, as painfully out of touch with himself as with his wife and every other woman in ‘The Dead’. In sidelong symptomologies of prostitution, pederastic fantasy, exhibitionism, the absurdist theatre of sexually ‘fallen’ washerwomen; of desire deluded, failed, thwarted, constricted, disavowed, denied, misdirected, exploited and exploitive, *Dubliners* exposes the spiritual corrosion inflicted by sexual shame and secrecy. If Ibsen, Hauptmann, that ‘dull French novelist’ Zola (WD 61) and Moore inspired Joyce’s reticent Irish naturalism, his streetwise Jesuitical modernity did the rest.

Like Moore’s, Joyce’s celibates reveal themselves through the desire they purportedly renounce. In *Portrait* Stephen’s inertial trajectory from his

Jesuit education to the priesthood is intercepted when he hears boys singing in the street outside and smiles, only to read in the priest's 'mirthless' face the strict discipline of animal joy in the 'grave and ordered and passionless' life of those 'guardians of his boyhood' who would have him 'serve their ends' (*P* 173–4, 178). The director's words contend for Stephen's soul with the prostitute's kiss – the medium of some 'vague speech' – and, as Celia Marshik observes, it is the prostitute he invokes to 'help' him bring 'spiritual renewal' to the world.⁷ Joyce's artist-prostitute alliance set up the eventual reception of his 'epic of the body' as an 'Odyssey of the sewer', even as its 1961 text, prefaced by US District Judge John M. Woolsey's 1933 legal decision, memorialises *Ulysses's* triumphant challenge to the very category of obscenity. If in the strict sense *Ulysses* is pornography, or writing about whores, Joyce outmanoeuvres the censors' efforts to contain it within 'the lower classes of art' (*OED s.v. pornography*).

As Joyce honed Stephen's role as artist-champion of modern Irish freedom from 'Stephen Daly' (*JJ* 264) through *Stephen Hero's* Stephen Daedalus to *Portrait's* Paris-bound Stephen Dedalus to *Ulysses's* ascetic Kinch the knifeblade, he pressed the logic of the marriage/prostitution continuum in ever more violent portrayals of Stephen's mother (Aloysius inter alia). Whereas in *Stephen Hero* May Daedalus' admiration for Ibsen's 'magnificent plays' confounds her son's need to cast her as his antagonist and censor (*SH* 87), in *Portrait* he thinks her 'hostile' when he rejects the priesthood for the university (*P* 178). In *Ulysses*, haunted by *amor matris*, he veers between anguished memories of the mother at whose deathbed he refused to kneel and gothic guilt and terror before her soul-devouring ghost. Joyce described his own dead mother (four boys, six girls, three misbirths; *JJ* 21) as a 'victim' of the sex/gender system, 'slowly killed ... by my father's ill treatment, by years of trouble, and by my cynical frankness of conduct'; her 'face grey and wasted with cancer' seemed that of 'a victim and I cursed the system which had made her a victim' (*SL* 25; Ibsen inter alia). Yet May Dedalus' ghost is also the sex/gender 'system's' apologist and perpetrator, appearing in Nighttown's city of whores as a ghoulish wormeaten corpse in a torn bridal veil to exhort her appalled son, 'Repent' (*U* 15.4199). 'Circe's' hallucinatory cameos of Bloom's and Stephen's mother/whores transgress a profound taboo whose structural importance to his book Joyce marked when, sixteen days after completing 'Circe', he referred to '*Ulysses* or "His Whore of a Mother"'.⁸ The sexual is political: 'Circe' stages intimate scenarios of domination and submission amid redcoats, a black mass over Mina Purefoy's pregnant belly (Bernard Vaughan inter alia), and the farrow-eating sow who prostitutes herself to the British state ('The red's

as good as the green, and better. Up the soldiers! Up King Edward!'; *U* 15.4519–20) and would have Stephen die for her: '*(thrusts a dagger toward Stephen's hand)* ... At 8.35 a.m. you will be in heaven and Ireland will be free.... O good God, take him!' (*U* 15.593, 4737–9). Yet rage toward mother/whores and the whore-mother country has its wellsprings in love, evoked at the episode's end when Stephen mumbles Yeats' 'Who Goes with Fergus' – the song he sang to his dying mother, who wept for 'love's bitter mystery'. The sexual phantasmagoria of 'Circe' is so radical and so fearless as to corroborate both Freud's homage to poets as first explorers of the unconscious and the voice in the *Wake* who 'can psoakoonaloose myself any time I want' (*FW* 522.34).⁹

That Stephen meets no young Nora on 16 June – only his mother's ghost – emphasises his role as Irish artist whose soul guards hate against caresses. Though full of longing he devotes himself in 'Scylla and Charybdis' to dominating the library's dialectical field with his self-reflexive theory that the sexual 'wound' inflicted by the adulterous Ann Hathaway goaded Shakespeare to his greatest works. Thus Stephen steers the future course of Joyce's epic of the body between the Irish revivalists' sexless utopia of theosophical 'brothers-in-love' and 'Ballocky' Mulligan's nationalist paean to masturbation in his 'play for the mummers': 'A Honeymoon in the Hand / (a national immorality in three orgasms)' (*U* 9.1173–4).¹⁰ *Ulysses*, meanwhile, absorbs these Irish adversaries ('shades and substances', respectively, *inter alia*) while bodying forth the new conscience Stephen performs. When Bloom passes 'bowing' and 'greeting' out of the library between Buck and Stephen, Mulligan mocks, 'He looked upon you to lust after you ... O, Kinch, thou art in peril. Get thee a breechpad' (*U* 9.1211)¹¹; Stephen (that 'most innocent son of Erin'), primed by his theory and his half-remembered dream, recognises in this 'ancient mariner', this 'wandering jew', an 'augury': the not-so-obvious hero of Ireland's national epic, whom he will meet again and follow home in the day's and his future book's late hours (*U* 9.1206–11).

While preserving Stephen as the artist-son who, by his analytic displacement of tribal filiation by affiliation, will write Ireland's national epic, Joyce refracts sexuality through myriad characters, fantasies and subjects of discussion, from Shakespeare's complete works replete with wayward brothers, wives, sons and daughters to the alluring barmaids of 'Sirens'; from exhibitionist fashion victim and self-deceiving fetishist Gerty McDowell to Mina Purefoy, whose birthgiving agon brings Bloom to the Maternity Hospital, and the obscenely funny medicals with their politically resonant stud-farm and contraception wit; from Nighttown's professional and fantasy whores to Molly's erotic memoryscape. All sexual representations provided grist for

Joyce's heteroglossic mill, from the epic-novel tradition to Dublin rumours about the unfaithful wife of Alfred Hunter, Leopold Bloom's historical inspiration (*JJ* 230). 16 June dawns as a more or less ordinary day for the Blooms, yet Molly's afternoon romp with Boylan after lolling abed with soft porn is the first adulterous sex act in their marriage, however many virtual instances may be chalked up to sexy Molly's self-regard and Poldy's roving eye. In plotting his modern odyssey around an adultery given deep resonance by his characters' loss of their eleven-day-old son Rudy – after which Bloom 'could never like it' (*U* 8.610) and Molly 'knew well Id never have another our 1st death too it was we were never the same since' (*U* 18.1449–50) – Joyce translates Homer's violently patriarchal Odysseus and terminally faithful Penelope into modern realist modes. For Odysseus' vengeful bloodlust he substitutes Bloom's peaceable equanimity in face of life's most devastating blows, and for Penelope's cunning fidelity, Molly's enduring preference for Bloom over all rivals.

For all the critical handwringing over the future of the Blooms' marriage beyond Molly's last yes, *Ulysses* renders dubious all attempts to reconfigure its modern adultery plot to the patriarchal ideal, for Joyce's equable Odysseus and earthy Penelope bear at least as much affinity to Austenian comedy as to tragic plots such as *Hamlet*, *Madame Bovary*, *Anna Karenina* and *Parnell*. Stephen's sexual dialectics in the library, not least his observation that 'Khaki Hamlets' shoot first and dither later, prepares his recognition of Bloom as Ireland's and Europe's modern epic hero: an everyman who is not one, given his startling promotion of 'life' and 'love', 'word known to all men' over 'Force, hatred, history, all that. That's not life for men and women, insult and hatred' (*U* 9.429–30, *U* 12.1481–2). To Barney Kiernan's patrons this speech only confirms Bloom's laughable lack of manliness, and indeed Joyce drew freely on contemporary sexology – Sacher-Masoch, Sade, Havelock Ellis, Krafft-Ebing, the self-contradictory essentialist Otto Weininger – to create Bloom's exceptional character, consciousness and fantasy life. Yet Bloom's signifying deviance works to disenchant readers from the self-deceiving cant of the heroic ideal and from sentimental blindness to the sacrificial violence it entails.

Ulysses goes further, slyly making the heroically aberrant Bloom a biological as well as biographical representative of its comic adultery plot. F. K. Stanzel recovers the historical sense in which 'All Europe Contributed to the Making of Bloom', zeroing in on the 'skeleton in the Virag family closet'¹² that 'Ithaca's godlike narrator invokes to explain Milly: 'blond, born of two dark, she had blond ancestry, remote, a violation, Herr Hauptmann Hainau, Austrian army' (*U* 17.869–70). Joyce obtrudes the

notorious Captain Hainau into Bloom's genealogy, Stanzel proposes, to clinch his status as a multiethnic Irish hero. Scion of '[m]iscegenations on miscegenations' (FW 18.20) that, hidden in bloodlines, belie both Irish and Jewish racial purity, Bloom is living proof that such ideologies are pure mythology¹³ (Renan inter alia). For good measure Molly has a skeleton too, as she pauses in her sexual reverie to remember: her 'mother whoever she was' named Lunita Laredo (U 18.846–7), evidently unrelated by marriage to Molly's father, Majorgeneral Tweedy. Decades of critics more exercised than Bloom about Molly's afternoon only demonstrate the critical counterforce *Ulysses'* adultery plot opposes to the intertwined myths of sexual and racial purity that fuel modern and anti-modern forms of misogyny, blood feud, rape, murder, war and genocide far beyond Ireland's borders.

When Lunita Laredo's broken reflection surfaces in the watery *Wake*, in that 'soiled dove' 'Lupita Lorette' who 'drank carbolic' while 'her sister-in-love, Luperca Latouche', sold sex 'in the haymow' (FW 67.33–68.5), we remember Stephen's avowal that, with only the woman in the black straw hat to help, he would 'bring to the world the spiritual renewal which the poet brings to it' (SH 192). *Ulysses'* attacks on soul-seducing caresses, contagious fetishism, deliberate self-deception, maidservant-murdering Odysseuses and Khaki Hamlets dissolve in the *Wake's* purer lyricism, the fluid voice and song of its deterritorialised Irish English – a verdant poet's garden where voices bloom and fade in evershifting light, 'dissolving' (FW 608.5) imperial English with its materialist designs into shimmering, elusive verbal music. Yet *Ulysses'* anti-patriarchal poetics, its opposition to 'Force, hatred, history, all that', waver like drowned Ophelias in the *Wake's* liquid motherworld, evoking the sad spirits the poet would renew – here, by a softened English lapping into all the words in the world, by a dream of freedom from signification and its world-dominating burdens. Perhaps only an Irish world author who had behind him the task of forging a new conscience in an English that was itself a burden could have dreamt such poetry.

As to sex, what can it mean to speak of Joyce as a 'world' author today? When he departed for the continent, it was not to escape Ireland but to put it on the map of the European avant-garde. In Joyce's Hauptmann translations, manifestos, exile and censorship battles from *Dubliners* to *Ulysses*, sex functions as an index of material and spiritual truth and freedom that not only shocks but changes his readers. Thus Virginia Woolf at first took private refuge in class condescension but soon publicly claimed Joyce for her modernist generation and, in 1931, held him up with Proust as heroic resisters of sexual censorship in their 'honesty', 'openness', 'determination to say everything'.¹⁴ Does this powerful influence upon con-science, the

knowing-together of free people, have theoretical and practical limits? If Joyce's emancipatory modernism makes social, state and church control of sexuality fundamental to Irish politics, how does this aspect of his work play outside Anglo-American and European contexts – in Japan, China, Korea, Russia, Africa, South America, Israel, the Islamic world?

People are reading *Ulysses* in Tehran, for example.¹⁵ How does Joyce's sexual poetics translate across cultural boundaries? Will *Ulysses* keep expanding or encounter a limit to its status as 'world' text? Will Joyce's linking of sex to politics incite censorship in non-European cultural centres, as in the west, debate, resistance to cultural imperialism? The fatwa on Salman Rushdie – so fervent an admirer of Joyce that he once thought of switching to law or banking – provokes reflection here. What light does Joyce's reception beyond predominantly western contexts cast on his work's conditions of possibility? How does comparative study of Joyce alongside works such as the *Arabian Nights* illuminate the role of sexual representations within diverse forms, traditions and dynamics of freedom? With Islam fast growing in Europe, might reading *Ulysses* alongside, say, Orhan Pamuk's *Snow*, with its proud suicidal headscarf girls, deepen cross-cultural understanding or only inflame controversy? To echo Stephen in the newsroom, we have much to learn.

NOTES

1. Neil Blackadder, *Performing Opposition: Modern Theater and the Scandalized Audience* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), p. 25.
2. See Jill Perkins, *Before Sunrise: James Joyce's Translation* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1978). In 1904 Joyce submitted *Before Sunrise* and *Michael Kramer* for the ILT's successor, the Irish National Theatre Society at the Abbey; Yeats declined them (*L* II 58).
3. 'The Irish Literary Theatre', *Irish Daily Independent*, 22 Feb. 1900; Augusta Gregory's mission letter (Mary Trotter, *Ireland's National Theaters: Political Performance and the Origins of the Irish Dramatic Movement* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2001), pp. I, II).
4. *Portrait* condenses Joyce's rejected Hauptmann translations with the 1907 INTS *Playboy of the Western World* riot.
5. Richard Brown's comprehensive, indispensable *James Joyce and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) analyses Joyce's vast reading.
6. See Jay Clayton, 'London: Dickens's London in Joyce's Dublin', *Novel* (Spring 1995): 327–42.
7. *P* 108; *SH* 192; Celia Marshik, *British Modernism and Censorship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 146, 139, 159.
8. Letter to Ettore Schmitz, 5 January 1921; Ellmann notes that Joyce's original phrase, "Ulisse" ossia "Sua Mare Grega", means 'Ulysses' or 'His Greek Mother' in Italian and 'His whore of a mother' in Triestine slang (*SL* 275–7

- and n. 2). See Christine Froula, *Modernism's Body: Sex, Culture, and Joyce* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), pp. 88–196 *passim*, esp. pp. 136–58.
9. See Jean Kimball, *Joyce and the Early Freudians: A Synchronic Dialogue of Texts* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), pp. 78–96; and Froula, *Modernism's Body*.
 10. See Katherine Mullin, *James Joyce and Social Purity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), ch. 4.
 11. On homoerotic moments see Joseph Valente, ed., *Quare Joyce* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998).
 12. F. K. Stanzel, 'All Europe Contributed to the Making of Bloom: New Light on Leopold Bloom's Ancestors', *JJQ* 32.3–4 (1995): 622.
 13. *Ibid.*: 625.
 14. Woolf, *The Pargiters: The Novel-Essay Portion of The Years*, ed. Mitchell A. Leaska (New York: HBJ, 1978), pp. 164–5 (manuscript notes for Speech of 21 January 1931 to the London/National Society for Women's Service). Woolf was 'amused, stimulated, charmed interested' through 'Hades,' then 'puzzled, bored, irritated, disillusioned' by what seemed by page 200 'an illiterate underbred book'; 'I may revise this later', she wrote, and did in her 1924 'Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown' (*Diary*, ed. Anne Olivier Bell, vol. 11 (New York: HBJ, 1978), pp. 188–9).
 15. Iran lifted the ban on *Ulysses* in 1999 but forbids 'more objectionable passages' in English or Persian; these appear in Italian. Kaveh Ehsani, 'Do-e Khordad and the Specter of Democracy', *Middle East Report* 212 (Fall 1999), n. 2 (www.merip.org/mer/mer212/212_ehsani_intro.html).

Further reading

What follows is a highly selective set of suggestions for further reading drawn from the vast quantity of books and articles about Joyce. The arrangement within sections is alphabetical. Larger contextual areas have been identified and although many of the volumes cited could easily appear in three of four of the further readings sections, they have been placed in the section that seems most relevant.

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Index

- AE *see* Russell, George William
 Abbey Theatre 196, 265, 376
 Abrams, Philip 148
Academy (periodical) 43
 Act of Union *see* Union, Act of
 Adams, Robert Martin 305
 Adorno, Theodor 302
 Albatross Press 11
 Aldington, Richard 7; *Imagist Anthology* 13
 Aloysius, Saint 33, 366, 372
 ALP *see* Plurabelle, Anna Livia (character)
 America and American culture 230, 281, 285–7,
 300, 340; cinema 356, 359–60; literature 137,
 144, 145, 146
 Anderson, Benedict 285
 Anderson, Chester 7, 113, 115
 Anderson, Margaret 8, 76
 Anglo-Irish culture and tradition 49, 214; and
 post-colonialism 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 109
Answers (magazine) 306
 Antheil, George 278, 281
 anti-clericalism 333, 335–9
 anti-colonialism 104
 Antinous 245–6
 anti-Semitism 219, 222, 226, 233, 254, 293
 Antoine, André 267
 Apollinaire, Guillaume 268
 Aquinas, Thomas, Saint xvi, 33, 198,
 320–31, 345; *Summa contra Gentiles* 327–9;
 Summa Theologiae 327
Arabian Nights 376
 Arabic nationality and culture 230
 Archimedes 348
 archives 56, 149, 210, 281; and biography 19–20;
 and genetic criticism 112, 117; T. S. Eliot
 19–20; *see also* letters
 Aristotle 163, 198, 219, 240, 248; *De Anima* 240;
 and thomistic philosophy 320–1, 322, 323,
 324, 326, 329; *Ulysses* and 246–7
 Arliss, George 360
 Armenian language and culture 230, 312
 Arnold, Matthew 208, 300
 Arnold, Thomas 208
 Asquith, Herbert Henry 294
 astronomy 344, 345, 346, 348
 atheism 335, 337, 338, 339
Athenaeum (periodical) 43
 Atherton, James S. 116, 214
 Attridge, Derek xvi, 104–5, 142
 Aubert, Jacques 118, 322, 329, 330
 Auerbach, Erich 139, 140; 'Philology and
 Weltliteratur' 139
 Augustine, Saint 345
 Austria, Jane 369, 374
 Austria: influence in Trieste 230, 231, 232, 233, 234;
 Austro-Hungarian Empire 231, 232, 237
 Bacon, Francis 312
 Bakhtin, Mikhail 138, 249, 290, 305
 Balsamo, Gian 342
 Barber, Samuel 281
 Barnacle, Nora (partner, *later* Nora Joyce)
 17, 18, 20, 77, 84, 171, 172, 196, 222,
 340, 369; letters from JJ 21, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35,
 37, 84; marriage to JJ 222; as Molly Bloom 21
 Barthes, Roland 66, 90, 163, 299, 301, 305
 Bataille, Georges 166
 Baudrillard, Jean 305
 Bauerle, Ruth 278
 Beach, Sylvia 9, 10, 13, 32, 36, 46, 76, 77, 133,
 218, 222, 223, 224, 277, 311; letters from JJ 36
 Beaufoy, Philip 306
 Beckett, Samuel 18, 23, 50, 60, 61, 65, 120, 207,
 220, 222
 Becquerel, Henri 343
 Beethoven, Ludwig van 276
 Beja, Morris 21
bel canto 277, 278
 Bell, G. K. A. 246
 Bellini, Vincenzo, *La Sonnambula* 280

- Belvedere College 126–7, 173–4, 175, 179, 180, 205, 207, 208, 209, 239, 240, 322, 325, 344
- Benco, Silvio 235
- Benedict XVI *see under* Popes
- Benedict, Julius, *Lily of Killarney* 282
- Benjamin, Walter 163, 305
- Bennett, Arnold 46, 47, 49, 207
- Bennett, Gordon 299
- Benstock, Bernard 61
- Bergson, Henri 218, 348
- Berio, Luciano 281
- Berlitz School 205, 229, 232, 312
- Best, Richard 104
- Bhabha, Homi K. 84, 85, 105–6
- Bindervoet, Erik 115
- biography 17–26, 28, 34, 57–9, 88, 89, 149–50, 195–6
- Bishop, John 96, 97
- Black Sun Press 14; *see also* Crosby, Caresse and Harry
- Blackrock 174, 178
- Blake, William 25, 206, 212, 364
- Bloom, Harold 202
- Bloom, Leopold (character) 46, 54, 59, 125, 152, 156, 213, 214, 217, 275, 292; cinema and 360, 361–3, 364; Dublin and 173; everyday life and 157, 165–6, 168–70, 171; Greek and Roman literature and 241, 242, 243–4, 245; influence of Trieste on 232, 233, 234, 237; Irish Revival 197; language and 310, 311, 312, 313; nationalism and anti-nationalism 106, 107, 185–6, 187–9, 190, 191; popular culture 299, 303, 304; religion and 334, 338, 339, 340, 341; sex and 370, 373, 374–5; science and 346–7, 348–9, 350, 352
- Bloom, Molly (character) 21, 107, 125, 198, 206, 222, 230, 234, 255, 292, 338–9; everyday life 165–6, 169; Greco-Roman literature and 242, 243, 245; as Joycean female character 77–8, 79; language, use of 310, 315; sex and 373, 374, 375
- Bodley Head (publishers) 8, 10, 11
- Boedder, Bernard 326
- Boheemen-Saaf, Christine van 101
- Bohr, Niels 343, 352
- Boine, Giovanni 235
- Boni and Liveright (publishers) 9
- Booker, M. Keith 347
- Borach, George 246
- Born, Max 343
- Bosanquet, Bernard 330
- Botton, Alain de 218
- Boucicault, Dion 282
- Bourdieu, Pierre 239
- Bowen, Elizabeth 178
- Bowen, Zack 278, 282, 306
- Bowers, Paul 351
- Boyd, Ernest 47
- Boylan, Blazes (character) 166, 242, 243, 245, 374
- Bradley, A. C. 324
- Bradley, Bruce 125
- Brantlinger, Patrick 300
- Braque, Georges 267
- Braudel, Fernand 163
- Brepols (publisher) 121
- Breton, André 272
- Briggs, Austin 361
- Briggs, Julia 23
- Brilliant Career, A* (JJ) 254
- British Library (*previously* British Museum) 32, 34, 36
- British Medical Association 251
- Brivic, Sheldon 99
- Brogie, Louis, de 343
- Brooker, Joe 19, 47
- Brooks, Cleanth 60
- Brown, Terence 361
- Brown, Richard 82, 305, 368
- Browning, Robert 209
- Bruni, Alessandro Francini 237
- Bruno, Giordano 266, 320, 336, 337–8
- Bryant, John 116
- Bucknell, Brad 284
- Buddhism 338, 339
- Budgen, Frank 20, 35, 36, 50, 59, 76, 116, 120, 235, 272, 279, 327
- Buller, John 281
- Bunting, Edward 189
- Bunyan, John, *Pilgrim's Progress* 212
- Burgess, Anthony 19, 311
- Burns, Robert 189
- Burrell, Harry 350
- Butcher, S. H. 330
- Butler, Judith 83
- Butor, Michel 72
- Byrd, William 210
- Byrne, John Francis 128, 252, 325, 326
- Byron, George Gordon, Lord 206, 208, 210
- Bywaters, Frederick 25, 118
- Cabaret Voltaire 271
- Cage, John, *Roaratorio* 281
- Campbell, Joseph 61, 114, 115
- Cape, Jonathan 7
- Carlyle, Thomas 209
- Carr, Marina 239
- Carroll, Lewis 25
- Caruso, Enrico 283

- Casanova, Pascale 140–1, 142, 143
Cat and the Devil, The (JJ) 29
 Catholic Emancipation Act 184, 334, 341
Catholic Encyclopedia 332, 339
 Catholic University of Ireland 252, 322
 Catholic/Protestant divide in Dublin 178–9
 Catholicism 42, 48, 62, 185, 290, 303, 332–9;
 European 333–4; in France 336; Irish xvi,
 45–8, 184, 212, 246, 332–3, 334–6, 339, 368;
 in Italy 336; in Trieste 231, 232
 Cavalcanti, Guido 328
 Celtic Revival *see* Irish Literary Revival
 censorship 4–5, 9, 15, 27, 49, 208, 302, 336,
 366, 367, 375; Censorship Board 325
 Cerf, Bennett 11
 Certeau, Michel de 163, 305
Chamber Music (JJ) 4, 5, 31, 34, 113, 128,
 196, 201–3, 205, 210, 266, 280, 281, 289;
 ‘I Hear an Army Charging upon the
 Land’ (JJ) 202; ‘Sleep Now (JJ) 34
Change (journal) 68
 chemistry 343, 344, 349, 350
 Cheng, Vincent 101, 108, 304
 Chicago 285, 286, 287; *Chicago Evening Post* 286
 children, JJ’s depiction of 165
 China and Chinese culture 137, 138, 146, 376
 Chomsky, Noam 68, 314
 Cicero 127, 318
 cinema xvi, 31, 54, 152, 229, 236, 289, 355–65;
 cinematographic effects 357–8
 Citizen, the (character) 106, 107, 188, 243
 Cixous, Hélène 77, 79
 Clarke, Bruce 348
 Clarke, Richard F. 326
 Claudel, Paul 216
 Clongowes Wood College 125, 126, 179, 184, 239
 Cohen, Keith 361
 Cohn, Alan 35
 Coleridge, Samuel Taylor 208, 211, 242
 Collier, Patrick 305–6
 Collins, Jim 301
 Collins, Joseph 49
 colonialism 49, 100, 102, 104, 146;
 anti-colonialism 104, 105, 106, 153; British
 in Ireland 99, 100–1, 102–3, 148, 206, 290;
 metro-colonialism 101, 102, 103, 105, 109;
 ‘semi-colonialism’ 104, 105; in Trieste 233
 Colum, Mary 76; and Padraic 237
Commerce (journal) 221, 222
 commodification 150, 201, 303–4
 comparative criticism 139, 140, 141, 142, 146
 Connolly, Thomas E. 116
 Conrad, Joseph 269, 275
 Conroy, Gabriel (character) 80–4, 103, 174,
 177–8, 206, 209, 292, 317, 371
Conservatorio Tartini 229
 copyright 27, 28, 149, 151, 155
 Corelli, Marie 306
 Corneille, Pierre 127
 correspondence *see* letters
 Corvinus Press 14
 cosmopolitanism 153; in Trieste 228–38
 Costanzo, William 361
 Costello, Peter 17, 18, 21, 57, 335
 Crispi, Luca 113, 150
Criterion, The (periodical) 12, 65
 Crivelli, Renzo 229
 Crociato, Luigi 235
 Croessman, Harley 36
 ‘Croppy Boy, The’ 186–8, 280
 Crosby Gaige (publishers) 13
 Crosby, Caresse and Harry 14, 31; *see also* Black
 Sun Press
 cubism 221, 268, 269, 270, 347
 Cullen, William 251
 Cummins, Maria 304
 ‘Curious History, A’ (JJ) 6, 34
 Curran, Constantine P. 4, 126, 323, 325, 326
 Curran, Sarah 189
 Curtis, Perry 108
 Da Ponte, Lorenzo 282
 dadaism 8, 221, 271–2
 Daedalus, Stephen (character) 4; modernisms
 262, 266; politics 99; sex 369, 372
Daily Express 185, 197–8, 206, 209
Daily Sketch (newspaper) 118
 Dalton, Jack P. 114, 115
 Damrosch, David 140, 142, 145
 Dan Michel of Northgate 315
Dana (periodical) 4, 151
 Dangerfield, Rodney 304
 D’Annunzio, Gabriele 236, 276, 279, 367;
 Il fuoco 367
 Dano-Norwegian (language) 126, 128–9
 Dante (character) 165, 166
 Dante Alighieri 33, 55, 127, 146, 244, 312, 341
 Darantieri, Maurice 10
 Darlington, Joseph 324, 326
 Darwin, Charles 141, 265, 351
 Davis, Michael Thomas 224
 Davis, Thomas Osborne 186; ‘A Nation Once
 Again’ 186, 190
 Davison, Neil 232
 ‘Day of the Rabblement, The’ (JJ) 328, 366–7, 371
 De Amicis, Edmondo 127
 Deane, Conor 194
 Deane, Seamus 104
 Deane, Vincent 114–15, 118
 Decadence 267

- Dedalus, Dilly (character) 85
 Dedalus, May (character) 372
 Dedalus, Simon (character) 169, 242, 318, 335
 Dedalus, Stephen (character) 126, 128, 156, 174–5, 216, 217, 224, 255; Catholicism 336–8, 339, 341; English literature 205, 206, 207, 209–11, 212, 213; everyday life and 165, 166, 168–70, 171; Greco-Roman literature 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247; Irish Revival 195, 197, 198, 199, 201; language(s) 309, 310, 311, 312, 317; modernisms 265–6, 267; music 275, 276, 280; philosophy 321, 327, 329; politics 105, 108, 110, 188, 191, 193, 288, 292, 293, 296, 297; science 346, 347, 348, 349, 357, 360, 362, 363; sex 368, 369, 370, 371–2, 373, 374, 376; sexual rebel 289–90; Sherlock Holmes and 306; Telemachus and 243, 244–5; women, attitude towards 85
 Defoe, Daniel 206, 212, 213, 276; *Robinson Crusoe* 208; Robinson Crusoe (character) 212, 214
 Delany, William 322, 323, 324
 Delaunay, Robert 268
 Deming, Robert H. 45
 Denmark and Danish culture 128, 145, 312; translation of *Portrait* 132
 Deppman, Jed 120
 Derrida, Jacques 52, 70–2, 73, 315; *Of Grammatology* 70; *Writing and Difference* 70
 Descartes, René 18, 345
 Dettmar, Kevin 302
 Devlin-Glass, Frances 154
Dial, The (periodical) 13, 48
 DiBattista, Maria 152
 Dickens, Charles 208, 211, 213
 Dlugacz, Moses 232
 Dolittle, Hilda (HD) 7
 Dolmatch, Theodore 114
 Don Quixote (Cervantes' character) 18
 Donizetti, Gaetano 236
 Donoghue, Denis 17
 Dooley, Martin J. (Dunne's character) 285–7
 'Dooleyprudence' (JJ) 286
 Dostoevsky, Fyodor xv, 53, 61, 138
 Dowden, Edward 324
 Dowland, John 210
 Downing, Gregory M. 316
 Doyle, Arthur Conan 250
 'Drama and Life' (JJ) 325, 328, 367
 Dreyfus affair 219
 Drumont, Edouard 219
 Dublin 21, 43, 44, 104, 107, 163, 167, 173–83, 197, 207, 211, 213, 225, 265, 287; Americans visiting 61–2; cultural elite 335; inhabitants 163, 166, 169, 170; occult revival 349; public health and sanitation in 252; schools 179
Dublin Medical Press, The 252
Dublin Review 333
Dublin Telegraph (newspaper) 178
Dubliners (JJ) 29, 36, 79, 113, 143, 144, 145, 149, 155, 156, 164, 228, 236, 280, 289; Catholicism and 336; Dublin in 173, 175; English literary tradition 206, 207, 208; Irish Revival and 196, 200, 201; language in 316, 317; medicine 254, 258; metro-colonialism 103–4; modernisms 265, 270; popular culture 301, 303; publishing history 4–6, 7, 15, 29, 33, 34; reception of 42, 43, 60; science 343, 345, 346; sex 370, 371, 375
 stories: 'After the Race' 4, 299; 'Araby' 299, 303, 304, 371; 'The Boarding House' 177, 182, 314; 'Clay' 34, 167–8, 275, 299, 371; 'The Dead' 5, 80–4, 103–4, 173, 174, 177–8, 189, 193, 206, 207, 209, 275, 304, 371; 'An Encounter' 371; 'Eveline' 4, 69, 151, 305, 371; 'Grace' 176, 207, 299, 361–2; 'Ivy Day in the Committee Room' 6, 169, 370; 'A Little Cloud' 103, 201; 'A Mother' 275, 299; 'A Painful Case' 257–60, 368, 371; 'The Sisters' 4, 6, 332, 336, 345, 369, 371; 'Two Gallants' 5, 151, 189, 371
 Duff, Charles 49
 Duffy, Charles Gavan 186; *The Spirit of the Nation* 187
 Duffy, Enda 102, 104
 Dujardin, Édouard 33, 219–20, 226, 236, 269, 276, 279; *Les lauriers sont coupés* 219, 220, 269, 276
 Dumas, Alexandre, *Count of Monte Cristo* 302, 303
 Dun Emer Press 198, 200
 Dunne, Finley Peter 286, 287
 Duse, Eleanora 367
 Duszenko, Andrzej 350–1
 Eagleton, Terry 22, 66
 Earle, David 151
 Earwicker, Humphrey Chimpden (HCE) (character) 12, 214, 287, 293, 315, 339, 340
 Eco, Umberto 68–9, 70, 71, 72, 73, 117, 133–4, 301
 eco-criticism 156
écriture féminine 79, 316
 Edward VII 5
 effeminacy 82
 Egan, Kevin (character) 219, 220, 337
 Eglinton, John (pseud. of W. K. Magee) 42, 44, 48–9, 104
Egoist, The (periodical) 6, 7, 8, 42, 269

- Egoist Press 7, 9–10, 12; *see also* Weaver, Harriet Shaw
- Eide, Marian 155
- Einstein, Albert, 343–4, 347, 348, 350; General Theory of Relativity 344, 347; Special Theory of Relativity 343; *see also* relativity
- Eisenstein, Sergei 359, 360
- Eliot, George 61, 256; *Daniel Deronda* 230; *Middlemarch* 256
- Eliot, T. S. xv, 7, 12, 19–20, 29, 41, 45, 46, 47, 49, 54, 60, 155, 239, 300, 316, 345; Eliot–Joyce relationship 20; modernism and 269, 271, 273; ‘*Ulysses*, Order and Myth’ 301; *Waste Land* 54, 242, 270
- Ellis, Henry Havelock 374
- Ellmann, Richard 76, 88, 129, 240, 246, 286, 327, 329, 332, 333, 376; biographical writing 17, 18, 19, 20–1, 22, 23, 24, 30; Ireland, attitude towards 59; letters 32, 35, 36, 37, 38, 150; post-war reception of JJ’s work 55, 56, 57–9, 61, 62
- Emly, Lord 323
- Emmet, Robert 188–9, 190
- Empson, William 57, 59
- Envoy* (journal) 62
- Epiphanies* (JJ) 56, 117
- epiphany 61, 117, 266, 270, 363–4
- Ernst, Morris 11
- Esperanto (language) 317
- ‘Et tu, Healy’ (JJ) 369
- Euclid 345, 346
- Euripides 239
- Evening Telegraph* (newspaper) 56, 305
- everyday life in JJ’s work 163–72
- Everyman* (periodical) 43
- exile: Ibsen and 208; JJ and 108, 143, 185, 186, 201, 206, 213, 220, 265, 287; Romantic poets and 210–13, 220
- Exiles* (JJ) 19, 113, 132, 205, 236, 302, 315; French translation 132
- expressionism 267, 269, 271
- Faber & Faber (publisher) 14, 31
- Fairhall, James 288–9, 290
- Fallon, William G. 325
- Famine, Irish 185, 186, 191, 335, 341
- Fanon, Frantz 104
- Fargue, Léon-Paul 222
- fascism 223
- Faulkner, William 270
- Faure, Félix 219
- Fauves, Les 267
- femininity 77, 81, 86, 245
- feminism 8, 77, 138, 155; feminist literary critics 78; French 79
- Fenianism 185, 188, 192, 291–2
- ‘Fenianism; The Last Fenian’ (JJ) 291–2, 293
- Ferguson, Charles W. 340
- Ferrer, Daniel 95, 97, 118, 120
- Ferrero, Guglielmo 21
- Fiedler, Leslie 301
- Fielding, Henry 213, 244
- Figaro, Le* (newspaper) 217, 268
- film: adaptations of JJ’s work 360; shown at the Volta, Dublin 355–6; *see also* cinema; visual arts and media
- Finlay, Thomas A. 322–3, 324
- Finn MacCool 301
- Finnegans Wake* (JJ) 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 25, 78, 85, 99, 144, 164, 225, 255–6, 270, 272, 287, 290, 320; cinema and 360, 361; copyright and 149; Dutch translation 115, 134; editorial history 114–16, 121; English literary tradition and 211, 213–15; French translation 134; genetic criticism and 112, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120–1, 150; JJ’s letters and 29, 31, 33, 34, 36; language in 126, 127, 134, 309, 311, 312, 313, 314, 316, 317, 318; music and 275, 278, 279, 280, 282; neologisms in 248, 249; new critical approaches 152, 155, 156; popular culture and 301, 304, 305; post-war reception 50, 51, 52; psychoanalysis and 89, 90, 95, 96; publishing history 3, 11–14, 16; religion and 333, 339–40, 341; science and 343, 344, 345, 348, 352–3; sex and 373, 375; structuralism and post-structuralism and 66, 67, 68–9, 70, 72–3; Trieste, influence of and reference to 228, 229, 230, 231, 232
- episodes: ‘Anna Livia Plurabelle’ (JJ) 13, 35, 50, 114, 116, 133, 220, 272, 360; ‘Four Waves of Erin’ 12; ‘Mamalujo’ 12; ‘The Mime of Mick, Nick and the Maggies’ 14; ‘Ondt and the Gracehoper’ 115, 351; ‘Tristan and Isolde’ 12; ‘Willingdone Museyroom’ 286–7
- Finnegans Wake Circular, A* 114
- Finzi, Teodoro 235
- First World War 212, 231, 268, 271, 286
- Flanagan, Fionnula 216, 222
- Flaubert, Gustave xv, 21, 43, 44, 47, 61, 118, 146, 263, 336; *Madame Bovary* 374
- Fletcher, Horace 255
- Florence (city) 234, 236
- Florian, Jean-Pierre 127
- Flotow, Friedrich von 280
- ‘Force’ (JJ) 288
- Ford, Ford Madox 12, 24, 31, 218, 269; *Parade’s End* 270
- Ford, John 360
- Fordham, Finn 120
- formalism 153; Russian 66

- Forster, E. M., *Aspects of the Novel* 279
 Fort, Paul 267
Fortnightly Review (periodical) 128, 288
 Foucault, Michel 251, 303, 305
 Fountain Press 14
 France and French culture xv, 29, 67, 145,
 216–27; language 126–7, 131, 312; literature
 128, 137, 141, 146, 207, 208, 303; Revolution
 333; in Trieste 230, 233
 Frankfurt School 302, 303
Freeman's Journal (periodical) 44, 176, 294, 305
 Freud, Sigmund 163, 225, 236–7, 272, 373;
 Interpretation of Dreams 96; JJ's antipathy
 towards 88; and psychoanalysis 88, 89, 90,
 91, 93, 94, 95, 96–7; 'Wolf Man' (case
 history) 95
 Friedman, Alan J. 347, 348
 Friedman, Susan Stanford 153
fuga per canonem 280, 281
 Fuller, Buckminster 60
 Furey, Michael (character) 84, 103
 futurism 21, 235, 268–9, 272
- Gabler, Hans Walter 7, 11, 113, 115, 117, 118
Gabriel Conroy (Harte) 306
 Gaelic language *see* Irish (language)
 Gaelic League 178, 179, 292, 317
 Gaelic literature *see* Irish literature
 Gaelo-Catholic 101, 102, 103, 109
 Galen 251, 258
 Galton, Francis 369
 'Gas from a Burner' (JJ) 6, 214
 Gaudier-Brzeska, Henri 268
 Gell-Mann, Murray 318, 352
 gender 76–87, 107, 154; gendered language
 315–16
 Genesis (Bible) 340, 342
 genetic criticism/studies 94–5, 112–24, 150;
 Genetic Joyce Studies (journal) 116
 Germany and German culture 126, 129–31, 143,
 145, 146, 230, 234, 271, 312
Giacomo Joyce 210, 233, 235
 Giacosa, Giuseppe 236
 Giard, Luce 163
 Gibbons, Luke 360
 Gibson, Andrew 57, 153, 254
 Gide, André 217, 218, 222, 275
 Gielgud, John 360
 Gilbert, Sandra 78
 Gilbert, Stuart 65, 133, 254, 360; JJ's letters and 28,
 29, 30, 31; JJ's post-war reception 45, 46, 50;
 music and 279, 281; in Paris 218, 222, 223–4
 Gillet, Louis 222, 223, 225, 277
 Giordano, Umberto 236
 Gladstone, William 294, 295, 296
- Glasheen, Adaline 61
 Glassie, Henry 169
 Gleeson, Evelyn 198
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von 138–9, 146
 Goffman, Erving 163
 Gogarty, Oliver St John 4, 55, 173, 200, 246; and
 Catholicism 327, 328, 337, 342
 Goldberg, S. L. 78
 Goldsmith, Oliver 207, 212, 213
 Goncourt, Edmond and Jules de 263
 Gonne, Maud 80
 Gontarski, S. E. 112
 Gordon, John 254
 Gorman, Herbert xv, 25, 28, 33, 36, 225, 254
 Gould, Warwick 19
 Goyert, Georg 133
 Graff, Gerald 56
 Graham, Colin 105, 106
 Greek and Greco-Roman culture 138, 139, 230,
 233, 239–49, 282; Greek language 312; Greek
 Orthodox Church 232, 340
 Greer, Tom 303
 Gregory, Lady Augusta 5, 29, 43, 128, 184, 195, 198,
 366, 376; *Cuchulainn of Muirthemne* 198;
 Poets and Dreamers 198
 Griffith, Arthur 33, 108, 185, 291, 292, 366
 Groden, Michael 34, 113, 116, 117, 120, 150
 Grossman, Jonathan 155
 Gubar, Susan 78
 Guillory, John 154
 Gulliver (Swift's character) 214
 Guðmundsson, Kristmann 145
- HD *see* Dolittle, Hilda
 Hackett, Francis 44
 Haeckel, Ernst 337
 Hall, Stuart 301
 haplography 114, 115
 Hardy, Thomas 256; 'On the Western
 Circuit' 208
 Harmsworth, Arthur 306
 Harris, Frank 362
 Harris, Susan Cannon 254
 Hart, Clive 57, 61, 66, 67, 69, 70, 73, 114
 Hartshorn, Peter 229
 Harvey, Martin 299
 Hassan, Ihab 353
 Hathaway, Ann 373
 Hauptmann, Gerhart 126, 128, 129, 130, 265,
 366, 367, 371, 374, 375
 works: JJ's translation 129, 130–1, 366, 376;
 Michael Kramer 129, 368, 376; *Vor*
 Sonnensaufgang/Before Sunrise 129, 366, 368
 Hayman, David 57, 61, 116, 117, 118, 120
 HCE *see* Earwicker, Humphrey Chimpden

- Head, Richard 210
 Heaney, Seamus 52, 207
 Heap, Jane 8
 Hearn, Lafcadio 179, 180
 Heath, Stephen 72
 Hegel, Georg 71, 330
 Heidegger, Martin 163, 168, 170
 Heilbrun, Carolyn G. 79
 Heinemann, William 4, 10
 Heisenberg, Werner 343, 352
 Hemingway, Ernest 77, 270
 Henderson, Linda Dalrymple 347
 Henke, Suzette 304
 Henkes, Robbert-Jan 115
 Herman, David 284
 Herr, Cheryl 283, 301–2
 Herring, Philip 117, 352–3
 Herzl, Theodor 236; *Der Judenstaat* 233
 Higginson, Fred 114, 115, 116
 Hirschwald, Maurice 10
 Hodgart, Matthew 278
 Hofheinz, Thomas 298
 Hollander, John 131
 ‘Holy Office, The’ (JJ) 31, 214
 Holy See *see* Vatican
 Home Rule 152, 291, 293–5, 369
 Homer 56, 146, 240, 282, 300, 301; early
 critical response and 46, 47, 50; Pope’s
 translation of 129; *Ulysses* and 198, 212,
 240–6, 249, 271
 works: *Iliad* 198, 240; *Odyssey* 46, 49, 224, 239,
 240, 374
 Honby, Louise E. J. 152
 Hone, Joseph 48
 Horace 126, 127
Horizon (periodical) 41
 Horkheimer, Max 302
 Howe, Stephen 109
 Howes, Marjorie 104–5, 142
 Hubble, Edwin 344
 Huddleston, Sisley 46
 Huebsch, B. W. 7, 9, 14, 29, 34, 36
 Hugo, Victor 127
 Hulle, Dirk Van 113
 Hume, David 247
 Hungary and Hungarian culture 230,
 232, 233
 Husserl, Edmund 70, 71; *Essay on the Origin
 of Geometry* 70
 Hutchins, Patricia 361
 Hutton, Clare 104, 110
 Huxley, Aldous, *Point Counter Point* 279
 Huyssen, Andreas 300
 Hyde, Douglas 195, 206; *Love Songs
 of Connacht* 198
 Hyman, Suzanne Katz 259
Hypermedia Ulysses 113–14
 Ibsen, Henrik 21, 29, 33, 53, 58, 143, 145,
 180, 208, 209, 210, 213, 236, 254, 336;
 modernism and 263, 264, 265, 266, 267;
 sex and 366, 367, 371, 372; translation and
 128–9
 works: *Doll’s House, A* 263, 268; *Enemy of the
 People* 267; *Ghosts* 263, 268
 Ichiyo, Higuchi 145
 imagism 8, 43, 268, 270
 imperialism 104, 106, 143, 153, 206; British 368
 impressionism 267
 Index of Forbidden Books (Vatican)
 333, 367
 India and Indian culture 137
Ingomar the Barbarian (Halm) 302
 Ingram, John Kells 187
 ‘interior monologue’ 46, 220, 242, 269, 270
 International James Joyce Foundation *see* Joyce
 Foundation
 Iran and Iranian culture 377
 Ireland 12, 42–4, 48, 59, 103, 184, 234, 246,
 252, 262, 265
 ‘Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages’ (JJ) 234,
 292–3, 327
 ‘Ireland at the Bar’ (JJ) 292, 313
 Irish (language) 178, 184, 185, 310, 312, 317
 Irish Home Rule *see* Home Rule
Irish Homestead, The (periodical) 4, 200, 343
 Irish Literary Revival 43, 44, 48, 195–204, 206,
 207, 233, 312, 335, 366, 367, 373;
 post-colonialism and 102, 104, 110
 Irish Literary Theatre 129, 195, 203, 366,
 367, 376
 Irish literature 208
 Irish Medical Association 252
 Irish National Theatre Society 376
 Irish Nationalist Party 294
 Irish Rebellion (1798) 184
 Irish Royal College of Surgeons 252
 Irish Senate 325
Irish Times, The (newspaper) 176, 305
 Irish Treaty of Independence 48
 irredentism 234, 235, 287
Irredentismo Adriatico 234
 Islam and Islamic culture 376
 Issy (character) 85, 315
 Italian Socialist Party Congress 288
 Italy and Italian culture 100, 141, 145, 208;
 language 126, 131–2, 134, 310, 312; in Trieste
 230, 231, 232, 233, 234
 Ivors, Molly (character) 77, 78, 79, 80–4, 103,
 178, 317

- Jackson, Holbrook 65
 Jackson, Wyse 21, 335
 Jacquet, Claude 118, 120
 Jaffe, Aaron 150
 Jahnke, Hans 19, 37
 Jakobson, Roman 66, 67, 90, 127, 314
 'James Clarence Mangan' (JJ) 293, 325,
 328; *see also* Mangan, James Clarence
 James Joyce Estate 18, 20, 28, 149, 157
James Joyce Quarterly 19, 28, 37, 61, 69, 148, 303
 James, Henry 207, 212, 269
 Jameson, Frederic 305
 Japan and Japanese culture 137, 141, 376
 Jarry, Alfred, *Ubu Roi* 267, 268
 Jerome, Billy 286
 Jerrold, Walter 209
 Jewish identity and culture xvi, 214, 221–2, 224,
 226, 230, 232, 233, 234, 243, 254, 339, 346,
 360, 375; Judaism 338; Judaeo-Christian
 history 139; Zionist movement 233
 Johnson, B. S. 356–7
 Johnson, Jeri 7, 113
 Jolas, Eugene 12, 13, 220, 222, 223, 270, 311
 Jolas, Maria 76, 130, 223, 237
 Jonson, Ben 206, 210, 219
 Joyce, Eileen (sister) 228
 Joyce, Eva (sister) 228
 Joyce, Giorgio (son) 17, 20, 32, 37, 360
 Joyce, James (1882–1941), attitude towards
 intellectual women 76–87; English
 literature, and 205–15; ethics and 155–6; as a
 European 53, 58, 142–4, 153, 180; European
 languages and 125–36; eyesight 255; French
 ancestry 225; health 255; as an Irishman xv,
 42, 47, 58, 142–4, 148, 153; law and 155;
 lectures by 131, 132, 190, 192, 206, 212, 234,
 290, 291, 292–3, 327, 346; (in *FW*), 364;
 as medical student 250, 344; musical
 performer, as 277; obituary 41; personality
 18; as a polyglot 311–12; sex and 369; work
 set to music 281
 works *see individual titles*
 Joyce, John Stanislaus (father) 17, 21, 335
 Joyce, Josephine (aunt) 33, 168
 Joyce, Lucia (daughter) 17, 18, 20, 21, 25, 29,
 31, 33, 35, 89, 222, 223, 225
 Joyce, Mary Jane (May) (mother) 17
 Joyce, Myles 292
 Joyce, Nelly (Stanislaus' widow) 36
 Joyce, Nora *see* Barnacle, Nora
 Joyce, Patrick Weston 224
 Joyce, Stanislaus (brother) xv, 6, 17, 207, 228,
 229, 328, 336, 345, 369; *Book of Days* 233;
 Dublin Diary 170; JJ's archives 30, 31, 33, 34,
 35, 37, 205; *My Brother's Keeper* 205
 Joyce, Stephen (grandson) 17, 20, 28,
 29, 149
Joyce Calendar see under letters
 Joyce Foundation 19, 37, 149
 'Joyce wars' 113, 158
 Jung, Carl 88–9
 Kahn, Gustave 264
 Kain, Richard M. 56–7, 117
 Kant, Immanuel 335
 Kavanagh, Patrick 62
 Kearney, Colbert 206
 Keaton, Buster 356
 Keats, John 208, 244
 Kennedy, John F. 52
 Kenner, Hugh 19, 20, 22, 23, 44, 57, 60–1, 128,
 129, 229, 241, 306, 310
 Kermodé, Frank 57
 Kershner, R. Brandon 152, 302–3, 304–5
 Kestner, Joseph 69–70
 Kiberd, Declan 55, 59, 105
 Kidd, John 11, 113
 Kipling, Rudyard 207
 Knight, David 348
 Knight, Douglas 129
 Knowles, Sebastian 113, 306
 Koch, Robert 250, 252
 Kock, Charles Paul de 198
 Krafft-Ebing, Richard von 374
 Kristeva, Julia 88
 Kuhn, Thomas 343
 Lacan, Jacques 109, 224–5, 303, 305; *Joyce le*
 symptôme 'Le sinthome' 93, 94, 97, 225; and
 psychoanalysis 88, 89–90, 91, 97; puns 88, 93
Lady's Pictorial 216–17 152
 Lamartine, Alphonse de 127
 Lamb, Charles 208, 240
 Lamos, Colleen 79
 Lamy, Thomas Joseph 342
Lancet (journal) 251
 Landon, M. 351
 Landuyt, Ingeborg 119
 language(s) and linguistics 118–19, 120, 270,
 309–19; libellous, obscene, blasphemous 4,
 5–6, 216–17; structural linguistics 66, 67;
 see also under translation and individual
 countries
 Larbaud, Valéry xv, 31, 116, 133, 143–4, 145, 222,
 223, 224, 332; JJ's early critical reception
 45–7, 49, 50; structure of *Ulysses* 65, 66, 69,
 70, 73
 Larkin, Emmet 341
L'Asino (magazine) 336
 Latane, David E., Jr 151

- Latin 125, 126–8, 208, 239–40, 312, 329;
 Latinisms 247–8; *see also* Roman and
 Greek culture
 Lawrence, D. H. 61, 77, 269
 Lawrence, Karen 155
 Leavis, F. R. 50, 55, 300
 Leavis, Queenie 300
 Lee, Hermione 25
 Lee, Lorelei 317
 Lees, Heath 284
 Lefebvre, Henri 163
 Lehar, Franz 236
 leitmotif 279, 281, 282
 Leo XIII *see under* Popes
 Léon, Paul 14, 27, 36, 133, 223; letters 27–8,
 32, 36
 Leonard, Garry 299, 303–4
 Leoncavallo, Ruggero 236
 Lernout, Geert 19, 119, 120, 145
 lesbianism 79
 Leslie, Shane 47, 48, 49, 332–3
 ‘Letter, The’ (JJ) 14
 letters 27–38; *see also individual correspondents*
 Levin, Harry 52–4, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61,
 62, 214
 Lévi-Strauss, Claude 67
 Lewis, Wyndham 60, 268, 272; *Tarr* 7; *Time and*
 Western Man 351
Libre Parole, La 219
 Lidwell, George 6
 Linati, Carlo 9, 132, 254, 356
 linguistics *see* language and linguistics
 Literature and Historical Society
 (UCD) 325
Little Review (periodical) 7, 8, 9, 15, 44, 151,
 269, 367
 Littmann, Mark E. 346
 Litz, A. Walton 55, 61, 114, 116, 117
 Lloyd, David 100, 102, 106
 Lloyd, Marie 300
 Lloyd George, David 294
 Lobner, Corinna del Greco 132
 Lombroso, Cesare 253, 254, 257
 London 219, 222, 226, 268, 272, 286; English
 literary tradition 210, 211, 212–13
London Mercury 48
 Longworth, Ernest 197–8
 Loos, Anita 317
 Loti, Pierre 179, 180
 Lotman, Juri 301
 Lowe-Evans, Mary 254
 Lukács, Georg 138
 Lyons, Jack B. 255
 lyric nationalism xvi, 184–94, 265
 Lytton, Edward Bulwer, Lord 317
 McAlmon, Robert 220, 222, 311, 312, 329; *Contact*
 Collection 12
 McBurney, William (pseud. Carroll Malone)
 186, 191
 MacCabe, Colin 90–3, 94, 97, 185, 186
 McCarthy, Michael J. F. 334–5
 Macaulay, Thomas Babington 209
 McClintock, Anne 100
 McCormack, John 25, 193, 277
 McCourt, John 17, 18, 20, 21, 57, 131, 149,
 229, 283
 MacDowell, Gerty (character) 222, 303, 304,
 305, 338, 361, 373
 McGinley, Bernard 53, 57
 McGreevy, Thomas 222
 McHugh, Roland 117, 120
 McKernan, Luke 356
 Mackey, Peter Francis 352
 McLuhan, Marshall 60, 152, 301, 304
 MacNicholas, John 113
 Macy, George 11
 Maddox, Brenda 18, 20, 21, 149
 Maeterlinck, Maurice 128, 267
 Magee, W. K. *see* Eglinton, John
 Magennis, William 324–5
 Magris, Claudio 230
 Mahaffey, Vicki 134
 Maher, Michael 323, 326
 Mahler, Gustav 236
 Maison des Amis des Livres 65
 Mallac, Père Jacques 324
 Mallarmé, Stéphane 217, 220, 264, 265, 267, 316
 Malone, Carroll *see* McBurney, William
Maltese Falcon, The 360
 Mangan, James Clarence 25, 185, 186, 190–2,
 293; *see also* ‘James Clarence Mangan’ (JJ)
 Mangan, Valentin 253
 Manganiello, Dominic 34, 287–8, 297
 Mann, Thomas 271, 275, 279, 282; *Magic*
 Mountain, The 270; *Tonio Kröger* 279
 Manning, Cardinal 334
Manuals of Catholic Philosophy 326–7
 ‘M’appari’ (Flotow’s *Martha*) 280
 Marengo, Carla 132
 Margueritte, Victor, *La garçonne* 218–19
 Marinetti, Filippo Tommaso 235, 268, 269, 316
 Markiewicz, Constance 80
 Marsden, Dora 7, 348
 Marshik, Celia 372
 Martin, Paul 284
 Martyn, Edward 366
 Marx, Karl 230, 338; Marxism 92, 153, 301, 303
 Mascagni, Pietro 236
 masculinity 76, 77, 79–80, 81–2, 84, 86; in ‘The
 Dead’ 83

- Mason, Ellsworth 55
 masturbation 253, 305, 373
 Mathews, Elkin 5
 Matisse, Henri 11, 267
 Maudsley, Henry 253
 Maunsel and Company (publishers) 5–6, 15, 196, 200
 Maupassant, Guy de 265
 Mays, J. C. C. 210
 Mazza, Armando 235
 Meahan, Paul 113
 Medical Act, 1858 252
 medicine and medical culture xvi, 250–61; in
 Ireland 252
 Melchior, Claus 113
 Melchiori, Giorgio 229
 Méliès, Georges 356
 Mellon Foundation 113
 Meredith, George 209
 Merleau-Ponty, Maurice 171
 Metchnikoff, Léon 119
 Meyerbeer, Giacomo 277, 278
 Mierlo, Wim Van 120, 145
 Milesi, Laurent 118, 316
 Milton, John 211–12, 214; 'Lycidas' 211; *Paradise
 Lost* 211; *Samson Agonistes* 214
 Miró, Gabriel 143
 Mitchell, John 191
 modernism(s) 42, 144, 221, 228, 239, 257,
 262–74, 300, 316, 336, 347, 348, 376; high
 modernist literature 46; JJ's modernism
 101–2; lyric nationalism 192; new approaches
 to 150, 153–4, 155, 156; post-war 'modernism'
 52, 53, 55, 56, 59, 60, 61; translation and
 126, 134
 Mohammed 339
 Moi, Toril 263
 Molière 127
 Monnier, Adrienne 65, 133, 216, 218, 220, 221,
 222, 223, 224; *Cahiers* 10; *Le navire d'argent*
 (journal) 12, 13
 Monro, F. R. 28
 Monroe, Marilyn 304
 montage 359
Moods (JJ) 266
 Moore, George 43, 128, 167, 207, 212, 219, 220;
 and music 275, 276, 279; and religion 335–6;
 and sex 371
 works: *Celibates* 132, 371; *Drama in Muslin* 371;
 Esther Waters 371; *Flowers of Passion* 371; *Hail
 and Farewell* 335; *The Lake* 336; *A Modern
 Lover* 371; *Pagan Poems* 371; *The Untilled
 Field* 167, 336
 Moore, Marianne 345
 Moore, Thomas xvi, 185, 188–9, 190, 191, 192; 'The
 Harp that Once through Tara's Halls' 185;
 Irish Melodies xvi, 189, 278; 'The Last Rose of
 Summer' 189; 'The Minstrel Boy' 189; 'O, ye
 Dead' 189; 'Oh Breathe not his Name' 190;
 'She is Far from the Land' 189; 'Silent O
 Moyle' ('The Song of Fionnuala') 189;
 'When He, who Adores Thee' 190
 Moorhead, Ethel 13
 Moran, D. P. 108
 Morel, Benedict Augustin 133, 253
 Moretti, Franco 141–2; 'Conjectures on World
 Literature' 141
 Most, Johann 337
 Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus, *Don Giovanni* 278;
 Marriage of Figaro, The 282
 Müller, Max 316
 Mulligan, Buck (character) 171, 197–8, 199–200,
 209, 216, 240, 241, 242, 312, 337, 368, 373;
 and Antinous 245–6, 253, 337, 373
 Mullin, Katherine 305
 music xvi, 54, 275–84; music hall 278, 280, 286,
 299, 300, 301, 302, 367; *see also* opera;
 pantomime; popular song
 Musil, Robert 270
 microscope 361, 363
 'My Love Is in a Light Attire' (JJ) 151
 myth and mythology 92, 179, 180, 184, 189,
 198, 199, 244, 265, 271, 299, 301, 305,
 367, 375
 Nadel, Ira 17, 22
 Napoleon Bonaparte 333; Napoleonic Wars 230
 narrative style 43, 157, 187, 242, 256–7, 270, 271,
 279, 316
 Nash, John 55, 155
 Nashe, Thomas 210
Nation, The (newspaper) 186
 National Library of Ireland 19, 27, 28, 32,
 36, 112, 128, 152, 326; in *Stephen Hero* 208,
 209, 326; in *Ulysses* 199, 371
 National Theatre of Ireland 265
 nationalism 34, 42, 153, 197, 285–98; multi-
 nationalism 139–40, 141, 231, 232; and
 post-colonialism 99, 100, 102, 104, 105–8;
 transnationalism 108, 109; *see also*
 cosmopolitanism; lyric nationalism
 naturalism: and modernism 263–4, 265, 266,
 267; and popular culture 346; and sex
 367–8, 371
 neologisms 248, 249, 311
 Nerval, Gérard de 118
 New Criticism 54, 56, 57, 65, 66, 112, 140,
 151, 300
New Freewoman, The (periodical) 7
 New Historicism 153
New Left Review 141

- New Republic* 44
 'New Woman' drama 302
 New York 67; NY Public Library 36; NY Society for the Suppression of Vice 8
New York Times 49
 Newman, Charles 54
 Newman, John Henry, Cardinal 209, 210, 329; *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* 325; *The Idea of a University* 209
 Newton, Isaac 348
 Neyt, Vincent 113
 Nicholas of Cusa 320
 Nietzsche, Friedrich 53, 70, 143, 223, 329, 342
 Nolan, Emer 59, 105, 106, 107, 153, 186
 Noon, William J. 322, 325, 327
 Norris, Margot 70, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 152, 155, 259, 360
 Norris, Senator David 37
 Norway and Norwegian culture 128, 143, 145, 208, 213; Dano-Norwegian language 126, 128–9
 Notebooks (JJ) 23; Paris 134, 362; Trieste 135, 363

 O'Brien, Darcy 34
 O'Brien, Edna 57
 O'Brien, Flann *see* O'Nolan, Brian
 O'Brien, Joseph 252
Observer, The 46
 O'Casey, Sean 31, 207
 O'Connell, Daniel 184, 349
 Odysseus (Homer's character) 46, 221, 374; Bloom and 243–4
 Odyssey Press 11, 16
 Ogden, C. K. 35, 317
 'O'Hussey's Ode to the Maguire' (O hEódhasa) 192
 O'Leary, John 291, 293
 'On Ibsen' (JJ) '3
 O'Nolan, Brian (aka Flann O'Brien) 62
 opera 236, 277–8
 'Oscar Wilde: Il poeta di Salomé' (JJ) 236
 O'Shea, Katherine 369
 Osteen, Mark 166
Our Exagmination (JJ) 50, 311
 Ovid 34, 127, 244, 356
 Oxford University 62, 209; Brasenose College 324
 Oxford University Press 11

 Paget, Sir Richard 316
 Palazzeschi, Aldo 235
 Palmer, G. Molyneux 281
 Pamuk, Orhan 376, 377
 pantomime 278, 299, 301, 302, 363
 Paris 133, 143, 216–27, 263, 268, 339; cultural capital of Europe 140, 143, 212, 267; JJ in 9, 17, 19, 24, 27, 31, 212, 255, 267, 277; Sorbonne 94
 Paris, Jean 67–8, 69, 73
 Parnell, Charles Stewart 25, 169, 318; and adultery 369–70, 374; and Catholicism 334, 335, 341; and Home Rule 294, 295–7; as Ibsenite hero 295, 296
 'parole in libertà' 235, 316
Passages from Finnegans Wake (film) 360
 Pasteur, Louis 252
 Pater, Walter 22, 207, 275
 Paulhan, Jean 217–18
 Peacock, W. 213
 Peake, Mervyn, *Gormenghast* 17
 Pearse, Padraic 292
 Pecci, Giocchino *see under* Popes: Leo XIII
 Penelope 242, 243, 374; and Molly Bloom 245
 Penguin Books 11
 Perkins, Jill 130
 Perlis, Alan David 347–8
 Perlmutter, Ruth 361
 Perse, Saint-John 221, 222
 Persichetti, Vincent 281
 Peterson, Richard 35
 Petrus Hibernicus 327
Philosophical Magazine 343
 philosophy 54, 153, 246, 262, 313, 320–31
 Photius 340
 physics 343–54
 Picasso, Pablo 267, 269, 270; 'Demoiselles d'Avignon' 221, 267, 268
 Piccinini, Mauro 284
Piccolo della Sera, Il (newspaper) 132, 229, 235, 236, 290–8, 313
 Pierce, David 134
 Pigott, Richard 295
 Pindar, Ian 57
 Pinero, Sir Arthur Wing 236
 Pinker, Eric 36
 Pinker, James 28, 29, 36
 Pius VII, IX and X *see under* Popes
 Planck, Max 343
 Plato 70, 244, 320; neo-Platonism 337; Platonism 320
 Platt, Len 196, 197
 Plurabelle, Anna Livia (ALP) (character) 77, 115, 214, 315, 339; for text, *see under* *Finnegans Wake*
 Poe, Edgar Allan 92, 93
Poliglotta, Il (newspaper) 131
Politeama Rossetti 235
 politics xvi, 18, 44, 59, 153, 262, 285–98; cultural 290–8; Irish 174, 178–9

- Pope, Alexander 129
 Popes: Benedict XVI 332, 341; Leo XIII 321; Pius VII 333–4; Pius IX 341; Pius X 334
 popular culture xvi, 299–308
 popular song 190, 278, 280, 300, 306
Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, A (film) 360
Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, A (JJ)
 56, 113, 149, 153, 156, 228, 236; and Catholicism 332, 334, 336, 337; childhood in 165; Dublin in 173, 174–5, 178; early reception of 42, 43, 44; and English literary tradition 206–7, 208, 209–10, 212; everyday life in 169, 171; and language 125, 309, 313, 315; and Irish Revival 195, 196, 201, 205; in JJ's letters 31, 33, 34; and modernism 262, 266, 275, 276, 280; Ovidian epigraph 244; and physics 346; and politics 99, 105, 107, 143, 288, 290, 296, 297; and popular culture 302, 303, 305; publishing history 6–7, 15; reviewed by Wells 357; and sex 368, 370, 371–2; and thomist philosophy 321, 324, 326, 327, 329; and translation 132, 145
 Poseidon 242
 post-colonialism 62, 99–111, 138, 140, 142–3, 153
 post-modernism 153, 301, 303, 304, 352
 post-structuralism 65, 67, 70, 72–3, 92, 305
 Pound, Ezra 223, 239, 316, 328, 345; and early reception of JJ's work 42–4, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49; and JJ's letters 29, 34, 35; and modernism 268, 270, 272, 273; post-war reception of JJ's work 52, 60; publication of JJ's work xv, 5, 6, 7–9, 12; and translation 128, 130
 works: *The Cantos* 239, 242, 270; translation of *Seafarer* 131
 Powell, Michael 52
 Power, Arthur 78, 218, 221
 Power, Mary 306
 Power, William 189
 Praga, Marco 236
 Prague School 66, 73
 Prescott, Joseph 116
 Pressburger, Emeric 52
 Pressensé, Mme E. de 127
 Prezioso, Roberto 235
 Prezzolini, Giuseppe 234
 primitivism 267, 269
 prostitution and prostitutes 78, 175, 371, 372, 373
 Protestantism 211–12, 232; anti-Protestantism 62; Protestant/Catholic divide 178–9; Valdesan Protestants 232
 Proust, Marcel xv, 217, 218, 219, 221, 270, 301, 348, 375; *A la recherche du temps perdu* 218, 219, 270; *Les plaisirs et les jours* 218; *Sodom et Gomorrhe* 219
 psychoanalysis 54, 88–98, 157, 272; Joyce's antipathy towards 88
 publishing history 3, 203; 1901–6 4–5; 1907–13 5–6; 1914–18 6–8; 1918–20 8–9; 1921–2 9–11; 1923–6 11–13; 1927–39 13–14
 Puccini, Giacomo 236; *La Bohème* 278
 Purdy, Strother B. 319, 344
 Purefoy, Mina (character) 372, 373

Quarterly Review 49
 Queen's College, Belfast 323
 queer theory 79, 157
 Quinet, Edgar 119
 Quinn, John 9, 29

 Rabaté, Jean-Michel 72–3, 94, 97, 155, 272, 283
 Rabelais, François 138
 Racine 127
 Radek, Karl 359
 Rainey, Laurence 150
 Random House (publishers) 11, 16, 55
 readers 154–5, 198; reading groups: Bloomsday 154; *FW* (Columbia) 55
 realism (literary) 42, 43, 47, 102, 197, 346; and English literature 207, 208; and medical reform 256, 257–8; and modernism 265–6; *see also* naturalism
 'Realism and Idealism in English Literature' (JJ, Lecture) 206
 reception of JJ's work 145, 151; early critical 41–51; post-war 52–64; in America 145; in England 55, 145; in Europe 125, 144–5; in Iceland 145; in Ireland 45, 47–8, 61–2; in Norway 145
 Redmond, John 294
 Reilly, Seamus 283
 Reisman, S. J. 360
 relativity 344, 345, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351; *see also* *under* Einstein, Albert
 religion xvi, 178–9, 185, 262, 332–42; multi-religious Trieste 231–2, 339; religious tyranny 287; *see also* Catholicism; Protestantism
 Renan, Ernest 33, 366, 375
Review of Reviews 250
 'Revolution of the Word' (Gilbert) 223–4, 270
revue indépendante, La 220
 Reynolds, Mary 35
 Rheinverlag (publishers) 133
 Rhymers' Club 210
 Ricardou, Jean 69
 Rice, Thomas Jackson 152, 345, 346, 351–2
 Richards, Grant (publisher) 4–5, 28, 29, 34, 36, 200, 201, 208
 Rickaby, John, *General Metaphysics* 326
 Rickaby, Joseph 326–7, 328

- Rickard, John 96–7, 327
 Rilke, Rainer Maria 228, 229; *Duineser Elegien* 228
 Rimbaud, Arthur 219; *Une saison en enfer* 264
 Robbins, Bruce 230
 Robinson, David W. 346
 Robinson, Henry Morton 61, 114, 115
 Robinson, Richard 229, 234
 ‘Roderick O’Conor’ (JJ) 12
 Rodker, John 50
 Roman and Greek culture 239–49; Roman Orthodox Church 340; *see also* Latin
 Romanticism 129, 185, 190, 192, 208, 210, 275, 276; anti-Romanticism 190, 196; English Romantic poets 206, 209; *see also individual poets*
 Rome 33, 133, 196, 205, 237, 288, 289, 290, 336
 Ronat, Mitsou 68
 Röntgen, Wilhelm Conrad 343
 Rooney, William 185
 Rose, Danis 23, 115, 117, 121
 Rossini, Gioacchino 277, 278; *William Tell* 277
 ‘Rosy Brook he Bought a Book’ (JJ) 29
 Roth, Philip, *Portnoy’s Complaint* 217
 Roth, Samuel 11, 13, 151; edition of *Ulysses* 16, 151; *Two Worlds Monthly* 12, 151
 Rothfield, Lawrence 256, 257
 Rousseau, Jacques 70
 Royal University of Ireland 127, 322, 323
Ruby: A Novel (Reade) 306
 Rushdie, Salman 376
 Ruskin, John 207, 209
 Russel, Myra T. 284
 Russell, George William (AE) 4, 104, 184, 195, 198, 200, 241, 337, 349
 Russia and Russian culture 207, 312, 376; formalism 66; Revolution 312; translation of *Exiles* 132
 Rutherford, Ernest 343

 Saba, Umberto 234, 236
 Sacher-Masoch, Leopold von 374
 Sade, Marquis de 374
 Said, Edward 139–40; *Orientalism* 139
 ‘St Dymphna’ (JJ) 12
 ‘St Kevin’ (JJ) 12, 14, 339
 ‘St Mark’ (JJ) 12
 ‘St Patrick’ (JJ) 12, 14, 339
 St Patrick’s College, Maynooth 322
 St Stanislaus College, Tullbeg 322, 323
St Stephen’s (UCD magazine) 367
 Saintsbury, George 213
 Salvadori, Mario 344
 Sand, George 127
 Sandow, Eugen 255, 299, 306
 Sartre, Jean-Paul 118

Saturday Review (of Literature) 4, 49
 Saunders, Max 24
 Saussure, Ferdinand de 66, 67, 72, 309, 311, 314, 315
 Sautoy, Peter du 31
 Schmitz, Ettore *see* Svevo, Italo
 Schnitzler, Arthur 236
 Schoeck, Othmar 277
 Schoenberg, Arnold Franz Walter 267, 284
 Scholes, Robert 7, 56, 69, 113, 115, 117
 Schopenhauer, Artur 329, 337
 Schork, R. J. 118, 119, 127
 Schrödinger, Erwin 343
 Schwartz, Jacob 28
 Schwartzman, Myron 344
 Schwarz, Tracy Teets 80
 Schweighauser, Charles A. 346
 science xvi, 343–54
 scientism 348–9, 350
 Scott, Sir Walter 209, 210
Scribbledhobble (JJ) 116
 Second World War 53, 55, 56, 138, 273, 332
 semiotics 68–9, 70, 88, 90, 91, 93, 97, 303
 Senn, Fritz 61, 126, 131, 133, 152, 168, 310
 Serb Orthodox religion 232
 Serna, Ramón Gómez de la 143
 Servire Press 14
 sex 33, 34, 46, 175, 218, 245, 248, 262, 289–90, 299, 304, 305, 366–77
 sexuality 79, 83, 338; *see also* femininity; lesbianism; masculinity
 ‘Shade of Parnell, The’ (JJ) 294, 295–7
 Shakespeare, William 25, 146, 198, 236, 277, 300, 312, 317, 347, 372, 373; and the English literary tradition 205, 211, 212, 213, 214
 works: *Hamlet* 211, 212, 217, 241, 299, 324, 337, 374; *Julius Caesar* 208; *Macbeth* 295; *Two Gentlemen of Verona* 211
 Shakespeare and Company (publishers) 9–10, 11, 32, 151, 224; *see also* Beach, Sylvia
 Shattuck, Roger 267
 Shaun (character) 115, 340
 Shaw, George Bernard 207, 208, 212, 236, 317; *The Perfect Wagnerite* 276; *The Quintessence of Ibsenism* 208
 Shelley, Percy Bysshe 33, 191, 205, 206, 208, 210, 366, 369; *The Cenci* 205; *Prometheus Unbound* 205
 Shem (character) 115, 156, 312, 333, 340
 Sheridan, Richard Brinsley 207, 212
 Shloss, Carol 21, 22, 107, 149, 305
 Sicari, S. 342
 Sicker, Philip 152
 Silvestri, Tullio 235
 Simmel, Georg 163, 166

- Sinn Féin 291–2
 Skeat, Walter W. 316
 Skeffington, Francis Sheehy 33, 37, 366, 367, 369
 Slataper, Scipio 232, 234
 Slepon, Rachel 120
 Slocum, John 36
 Slote, Sam 113, 115–16, 119, 150
 Smareglia, Antonio 236
 Smith, Dorothy 163
 Smollett, Tobias 213
 Smyth, Gerry 62
 ‘social purity’ movement 305
 socialism 59, 285, 287–90, 297
 socialist realism 358
 Society of Authors 28
 Soddy, Frederick 343
 Sollers, Philippe 88, 223
sonnambula, La (Bellini) 280
 Soupault, Philippe 133, 222, 272
 Spain and Spanish culture 100, 131, 143, 145, 312
Speaker (journal) 4
 Specter, Judith A. 78
 Spiegel, Alan 361
 Spencer, Theodore 56
 Spenser, Edmund 211
 Spielberg, Peter 117
 Spinoza, Baruch 337–9
 Spoo, Robert 129, 149
 Squier, Susan Merrill 352
 Staley, Thomas 61
 Stanzel, F. K. 374, 375
 Stein, Gertrude 76, 270; *Three Lives* 76
 Stein, Phyllis Moss 171–2
 ‘Stephen Daly’ (JJ) 372
Stephen Hero (JJ) 56, 99, 117, 316, 322; and
 Catholicism 326, 332, 336; composition
 history 4, 5, 31, 33; and English literary
 tradition 208, 212; and modernism 262,
 265–6; and politics 108, 288, 290, 292; and
 sex 368, 369, 372, 375
 Steppe, Wolfhard 113
 Sterne, Laurence 213, 357
 Stevenson, Sir John 189
 Stöckle, Albert 323
 Stoneyhurst College, Lancashire 322, 323
Storiella as She Is Syung (JJ) 14, 309
 Strachey, Lytton 21
 Stratford-upon-Avon 211, 212, 213
 Strauss, Johann 236
 Strauss, Richard 236; *Salome* 236
 Stravinsky, Igor 269, 277; *Rites of Spring* 221
 stream of consciousness 220, 358
 Strick, Joseph 360
 Strindberg, August 143, 263–4, 267; *The Father*
 263; *The Ghost Sonata* 267; *Miss Julie* 263
 structuralism 65–75, 311; French 67, 69; Prague
 School 66, 73; and psychoanalysis 89, 90–1,
 92, 93, 94, 97
 Suarès, André 222, 226
 Sullivan, John 277, 278
 Sullivan, Kevin 127, 325
 surrealism 221, 223, 272, 273
 Svevo, Italo (pseud. of Ettore Schmitz) 5, 228,
 229, 232, 236; *Coscienza di Zeno* 228; *Senilità*
 228; *Una vita* 228
 Swann, Charles (Proust’s character) 221
 Sweeney, Seán 28
 Swift, Jonathan 25, 213, 214–15, 318; *Gulliver’s*
 Travels 214, 215; *Journal to Stella* 215, 314;
 A Tale of a Tub 214, 215
 Swinburne, Algernon 209
 Sykes, Claud 36
 symbolism 8, 189, 220, 275; French 54, 207, 219;
 and modernism 263, 264–5, 266, 267, 268
 Symons, Arthur 128, 264, 267, 276; *Symbolist*
 Movement 266
 Synge, J. M. 5, 43, 126, 179, 180, 184, 195, 196,
 198, 207, 317; *Riders to the Sea* (JJ’s trans.
 with Vidacovich) 132, 229; *Playboy of the*
 Western World 196
Synopsis Philosophiae Scholasticae ad Mentem
 Divi Thomae 329
 syphilis 226, 255, 263, 369
 Tagore, Rabindranath 145
Tales Told of Shem and Shaun (JJ) 14, 35
 Tasso, Torquato 127
 Tavolato, Italo 235
 Taxil, Léo 337
 Taylor, John F. 349
Tel Quel (journal) 67, 68, 72, 88, 223
 Telemachus (*Odyssey*) 242, 243, 244–5
 Tennyson, Alfred 206, 208, 317
 Tériade, Eleftheriades 13
 textual scholarship/criticism 112–16, 117, 120, 149, 150
 Thackeray, William 213
 theatre 208, 236, 277, 280; Intimate Theatre
 267; Théâtre d’Art 267; Théâtre Libre
 267; see also Abbey Theatre; Irish Literary
 Theatre
 theosophy 299, 349, 364, 373
 thomism 320–31, 362; see also Aquinas, Thomas,
 Saint
 Thompson, Edith 118
Thom’s Dublin Directory 56, 176–7, 182, 305
 Thomson, J. J. 343, 350
Times, The 41, 295
Times Literary Supplement (TLS) 43, 57

- Tindall, William York 55, 113
Tit-Bits (magazine) 306
 Tizzoni, Fedoro *see* Finzi, Teodoro
 Tolstoy, Leo 21, 61, 207, 265; *Anna Karenina* 374
Tom Brown's School Days (Hughes) 303
 Tone, Wolfe 188
 Topia, André 118
transatlantic review (periodical) 12, 269; *see also*
 Ford, Ford Madox
transition 13, 115, 223–4, 269, 270
transition group 220, 223
 translation 125–36, 140–1, 154, 192, 229; JJ's work
 translated 132–3, 144–5; politics of 134–5; *see*
 also under individual works
 Trench, Richard Chenevix 316
 Trieste xv, 17, 21, 131, 133, 228–38, 339; irredentists
 287; JJ's library in 209, 276, 326, 327; JJ
 in 24, 31, 108, 212, 255, 267, 278
 Trilling, Lionel 53–4
 Trinity College Dublin 252
 tuberculosis 250, 252
 Tucker, Benjamin 288
 Tuohy, Patrick 171
 Tuoni, Dario De 235
 Turgenev, Ivan 207
 'Tutto è sciolto' (from *La Sonnambula*) 280
 Tyler, Parker 359–60
 Tymoczko, Maria 34, 130

Ulysses (film) 359–60
Ulysses 150, 153, 154, 156, 172, 327; Aristotle and
 246–7; banned in US and/or UK 45, 46, 151,
 367; cinema and 357–60, 361, 362–3;
 copyright 149; Dublin and 175, 177, 178,
 179–80; economics in 166; English literary
 tradition and 206, 207, 209, 210–11, 212, 213,
 214; gender and 76, 85; genetic criticism
 112, 113, 114, 116, 117, 119; Greco-Roman
 culture 239; Homer's *Odyssey* 240–6, 249;
 Irish Revival and 195, 196, 197, 198, 199–200,
 201; JJ's letters, and 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35;
 language(s) 126, 127, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314,
 315; lyric nationalism and 185–6, 187–9, 190,
 191, 192; medical culture and 253, 254–5;
 Modernism and 268, 269, 270, 271; music
 275, 276, 279, 280; obscenity and trials 9, 155,
 300, 358, 372; Paris 217, 218, 219, 220, 221–2,
 223, 224; physics and 346–9, 350, 352; politics
 and 99, 102, 104, 106–7, 153, 288, 290, 293,
 297; popular culture 299, 301, 303, 304, 305,
 306; psychoanalysis 89, 90–1, 96–7;
 publishing history 4, 7–11, 12, 13, 15, 113–16,
 149, 168, 218; reception and reviews 41, 42,
 44–50, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57–8, 59, 60, 61, 332–3;
 religion and 332, 333, 336, 337–9, 340, 341; sex
 and 368, 372–5, 376; structuralism and 65,
 66, 69; translation and 125, 130, 132, 133, 219;
 Trieste, influence on and references to 228,
 229, 230, 232, 234, 235, 236; World Literature
 and 143, 145
 episodes: 'Aeolus' 272, 306, 325, 349, 370;
 'Calypso' 125; 'Circe' 9, 117, 187, 188, 216,
 247, 271, 272, 295, 347, 349, 356, 361, 372–3;
 'Cyclops' 8, 9, 102, 106–7, 193, 197, 224, 235,
 247, 272, 279, 281, 295, 311, 348; 'Eumaeus' 9;
 'Hades' 7, 8, 168, 255, 349, 376, 377; 'Ithaca'
 10, 54, 156, 168–70, 221, 247–8, 346–7, 363,
 374; 'Lestrygonians' 10, 255, 338, 349;
 'Library' 197; 'Lotus Eaters' 7; 'Nausicaa' 9,
 151, 152, 304, 361; 'Nestor' 8, 193, 211, 252,
 326; 'Nostos' 9; 'Oxen of the Sun' 9, 69, 117,
 208, 213, 254, 315, 337–8; 'Penelope' 10, 79,
 221, 255, 313; 'Proteus' 7, 8, 113–14, 210, 244,
 247, 370; 'Scylla and Charybdis' 7, 8, 211, 213,
 241, 299, 328–9, 373; 'Sirens' 8, 165–6, 186,
 187, 188, 189, 279, 280–1, 282–3, 284, 373;
 'Telemachus' 7, 8, 60, 108, 221, 245;
 'Wandering Rocks' 8, 12, 117, 152,
 247, 277
 unanimism 221
 Union, Act of (1800) 101, 184
United Irishman (newspaper) 185
 United Irishmen 184, 186
 United States of America *see under* America
 Università Popolare 132, 291, 292, 293
 University College Dublin (UCD) 208, 209, 239;
 philosophy at 322–5, 326
 Uspensky, Boris 301

 Vaglio, Carla Marengo 152, 361
 Valente, Joseph 101, 102, 103, 108
 Valéry, Paul 118, 222, 272
 Vatican xvi; First Vatican Council (1870) 334;
 Second Vatican Council (1964) 332, 333
 Vaughan, Bernard 33, 366, 372
 Verdi, Giuseppe 236, 277
 Verlaine, Paul 128, 130, 264, 266
 Vico, Giambattista 20, 50, 236, 313, 320
 Victoria, Queen 207, 219
 Vidacovich, Nicolò 132, 229
 Vienna 226, 232, 236, 237
 Viking Press 14
 Vintage (publishers) 11
 Virgil 127
 visual arts and media xvi, 54, 151, 152, 276
 Vivante, Angelo 234
voce, *La* 234, 235
Vociani 234; *see also* *La voce*
 Volta cinema, Dublin 31, 355–7; films
 shown 355–6

- Voltaire, François Marie Arouet 127, 333
 voyeurism 32, 338, 361, 362, 363, 364, 368
- Wagner, Richard 219, 220, 236, 264, 276–7, 278, 279, 281, 282; *Die Meistersinger* 277, 278, 280–2; *Parsifal* 278; *Siegfried* 275; *Tristan und Isolde* 278; *Die Walküre* 282
- Wake Newslitter*, A 117
- Wales, Katie 311, 313
- Wales and Welsh culture 225, 312
- Walsh, Ernest 13
- Walzl, Florence L. 254
- Warner Brothers 360
- Watt, Ian 138
- Watt, Stephen 302
- Weaver, Harriet Shaw 76, 132, 222, 312, 344; and letters 28–9, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36; publishing history of JJ's work 7, 8–10; *see also* Egoist Press
- Wedekind, Frank 263
- Weininger, Otto 236, 374
- Weinstein, Norman 346
- Weiss, Edoardo 236
- Wellington Monument (Dublin) 287
- Wellington Museum (London) 287
- Wells, H. G. 44, 357; review of *A Portrait* 357; *The Time Machine* 357
- Wells, James 13–14
- West, Rebecca 7
- Whannel, Paddy 301
- Whitman, Walt, 'Song of Myself' 369
- Wicke, Jennifer 303
- 'Widow Twankey' 302
- Wilde, Oscar 25, 207, 212, 302; 'The Soul of Man under Socialism' 288, 297
- Williams, Keith 361
- Williams, Raymond 163
- Williams, William Carlos 50, 55
- Wilson, Edmund 54, 245
- Wimsatt, W. K. 55
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig 314, 315
- Wolf, Werner 283
- Wollaeger, Mark 101–2
- women: emancipation and 77, 78, 80, 81–2, 262; as friends of JJ; intellectual 76–87; language and 315–16; sexualised/eroticised 78, 79; writers 82
- Woolf, Virginia 18, 23, 25, 52, 146, 270, 271, 375, 377
- Woolsey, Judge John M. 49, 357–8, 372
- wordplay 125, 134–5, 214, 217, 316, 361–2; *see also* under Lacan, Jacques: puns
- Wordsworth, William 205, 208, 209, 212
- 'Work in Progress' (JJ) 9, 12, 13, 30, 31, 45, 48, 49, 50, 51, 95, 114, 120, 223, 339, 340; 'Haveth Childers Everywhere' (JJ) 14
- World Literature 137–47
- Worthington, Mabel 278, 306
- Yeats, Elizabeth Corbet 198, 200
- Yeats, W. B. 4, 42, 52, 55, 84, 239, 291, 300, 328; and Dublin 179, 180; English literary tradition 206, 207, 210; Irish Literary Revival 43, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199–200, 201, 202, 203; and lyric nationalism 184, 189; and modernism 265, 267, 271, 273; and translation 126, 130, 134; and sex 366, 371, 373; support of JJ's work 47; works: 'Baile and Ailinn' 199; *The Countess Cathleen/Kathleen ni Houlihan* 84, 132, 366; *In the Seven Woods* 198–200; *On Baile's Strand* 198, 199; *The Wind among the Reeds* 198, 202
- Young Ireland 185, 186, 187, 191, 192; ballads 186, 187
- Young, Brigham 339
- Zamenhof, Ludwig Lazarus 317
- Zelinsky, Feddei 249
- Zimmermann, George 186
- Zimolo, Michelangelo 235
- Žižek, Slavoj 99, 107, 108, 109
- Zola, Emile 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 279, 371
- Zukovsky, Louis 360
- Zurich xvi, 4, 7, 130, 132, 133, 224, 235, 271, 272, 286, 339